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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

VELIKHOV INTERVIEWED ON NUCLEAR WAR DANGER

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 84 pp 20-24

[Yevgeni Velikhov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Peace and Against Nuclear Threat, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, interviewed by Sh. Yusupov; date not given]

[Text]

Yevgeni Pavlovich, today some people speak about the negative side of scientific discoveries because scientists gave mass annihilation weapons to the world.

Such a conclusion would be an undeserved reproach upon science. Mass extermination of people was carried out even when science was at a primitive stage of its development. Remember the times of Genghis Khan. There was a period when mankind's existence was threatened by epidemics. For example, smallpox left the whole European continent almost uninhabited. Where is this threat now? People, their reason and knowledge, their common efforts, completely saved mankind from this formidable disease.

At the same time history teaches us that simultaneously with mankind's possibilities to exterminate itself there was also an active growth of the possibility to secure its own development.

As for mass annihilation weapons we must bear in mind that the atom is capable of turning our planet into a desert but it can also help cover deserts with flowering oases. Some areas of Middle Asia are a splendid example of this.

Yes, nominally, the atom bomb was created by scientists. Then the matter was taken by the political figures of the country: the decisions to create and

use atomic weapon were political ones. It was with the new atom bomb that already in the first postwar years the USA set itself the goal to achieve the decisive military superiority over the USSR and, if circumstances were favourable, to unleash war against us and win. Of course, our country couldn't but answer to that by strengthening its defensive capabilities.

Since then the militarist, reactionary circles of America have considered the Soviet Union a real enemy, and that all means without exception are justified and good in relations with it. They deliberately dehumanize the enemy and deprive it of any human features. In such a way the complexes of hatred and fear are being created which are bad advisers in the struggle for life, to say nothing of understanding and trust.

Hatred and fear are very strong feelings, and American politicians know this very well. History knows the famous reply of Senator Arthur Vandenberg to President Harry Truman as how to obtain the approval of "The Truman Doctrine" by the Congress: "The country must be frightened to death." Really, to impose the dangerous and expensive arms race upon people it is necessary to provoke just these emotions. Since then the most reliable way of extorting money for the arms race has been to frighten the

public by shouting at every corner; "The Russians are coming!" This is the method to create the militarization of thinking that is more dangerous because its base is primitive and faulty: the experience of past wars is taken as a prototype for the future, weapons stockpiles are feverishly counted up, and according to these calculations, military doctrines are formed. But to build up politics only on the calculations of the weapons available is very dangerous in the age of the atom. One mustn't act proceeding from an idea that "if they have weapons which can destroy our home then they are ready to destroy it, and it's very important to forestall them and to be the first to deliver the strike." In our time, it's of prime importance, as never before, to orient politics and consciousness to the readiness to build, not destroy, bridges.

The US administration tries to accustom Americans to a thought on admissibility in principle of a nuclear war. While doing this, some representatives in the upper echelons of the power assert that nuclear war can be won. Can you as a scientist and simply as a man understand such a war and such a victory?

I saw the war when I was a child. I remember the evacuation and Stalingrad of 1943. My father was sent there to rehabilitate factories. I well remember a boy of my age, a neighbour's son of 7-8 years old. In the ruins of this formerly beautiful city, he was left alone: all his family had been killed by one bomb. Now my youngest daughter is 9, son is 6, and granddaughter is 2 years old. I cannot but think about these utterly defenceless creatures, trying to imagine what would happen to them if suddenly a nuclear war would break out. Unfortunately, the words that the alive would envy the dead are an exact truth. Should war happen, civilization on our planet, and possibly the very life, would disappear.

Among Western reactionaries is current the saying "better dead than red".

In this case, for the opposite point of view, probably, right would be the saying: "better dead than to live in

bourgeois world". I don't think that such a dilemma can exist in our civilized age.

...Another "arguments" which are used to change people's outlook on a possible war are the analyses of previous wars.

The war philosophy is as old as war itself. And comparison of a world thermonuclear catastrophe with any past wars shows more differences than likenesses: a world nuclear war, if it occurs, would be a qualitatively new phenomenon from all points of view: military, economic, political and moral. In short, it would be a catastrophe for all mankind. Nobody would be able to sit out such a war in bunkers.

This conclusion reflects the absolutely true opinion of scientists and reasonable politicians. I don't think that those who reject the catastrophic character of thermonuclear war themselves believe in it.

Back to the above mentioned, I would like to add that to compare means not only to put in line such phenomena. Let the readers understand me properly. To support this thesis I will give several examples. Hiroshima, as we remember, was destroyed by one atom bomb. To do the same, let's say, for the whole FRG, it isn't necessary, to have 100 or 120 nuclear warheads, one would be enough if it is launched exactly at the target—at one of the existing nuclear reactors. The explosion would wipe out the whole state and would make it uninhabited.

Those rich Americans who hold conspicuous jobs in the government and who build bunkers supplied with everything, from electricity to fresh water, expect to sit out in them in case of a global nuclear war. This is a worthless illusion. Well, suppose they manage to sit it out and then come out to light. What will they see? A desert, poisoned by radiation. Alas, here life will have made its sombre corrections, too. I won't touch the essence of all destruction factors, in contrast to a conventional bomb possessing only one such factor, nuclear weapons have many of them. I tell you that a global nuclear catastrophe is something more than the sum total of local catastrophes. Nuclear

weapons will produce, among other things, a direct hit to the atmosphere. The hit whose power and aftermath are difficult to predict...

Lately, President Reagan and his entourage widely advertised a "new defense concept" of the USA, connected, as they say, with the forthcoming creation of the "wide-scale and highly effective" anti-missile defense. What is your opinion of this?

It is for diplomats and lawyers to judge whether the work on its creation is lawful or not. For my part I'll note that the president didn't say anything new on the matter, as scientists and military specialists have discussed it for a long time already. It is unimportant when and who from specialists discussed the problem on building up a sophisticated defence, the conclusion is the same: such a development of events will inevitably lead to the appearance of still more sophisticated offensive means and to a new increase in the number of warheads (their number is already above all thinkable limits).

In general, I should note that everything that was said today about the scientific and technological side of the new US "defense concept", connected with the use of outer space, isn't based on scientific and political factors. And my opinion isn't an exception. In September 1982, at the conference of scientists on the problems of averting the nuclear threat, which was held in Rome by the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, representatives of 36 national Academies of Sciences including those of the four nuclear powers (the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France) adopted a very important "Declaration on Prevention of War". In this collective opinion of the well-known scientists of the world is written in black and white that science cannot offer real protection to the world from the consequences of nuclear war. There is no perspective on making defence sufficiently effective to protect cities because even one penetrated nuclear charge can inflict mass destructions.

There haven't been any cardinal

changes in science and technology during the past time. A thought appears that somebody, bluntly speaking, has duped the president. Or maybe everything presented by him as a new truth is no more than deliberate demagogic which covers new, extraordinary steps on the path to the preparations to war? I think the second assumption is more correct, because even today there are all reasons to affirm that different parts of the common strategic design are being selected and adjusted in the USA at present. Now this design looks like this: shift the bases as near as possible to the USSR, place everywhere, and especially in Europe, the first-strike weapons, thickly as possible, and then create the threat from outer space as well. The April 1983, "Appeal to All Scientists of the World", signed by more than 220 representatives of Soviet science, scientists known to the world, says that "the initiative of the US president is clearly oriented towards a destabilization of the existing strategic balance". "The use of the anti-missile weapons," the Appeal goes on, "best of all suits precisely the attacking side, which strives to reduce the power of a retaliatory strike."

It is clear, of course, that the Soviet Union won't allow this new threat to be realized. The USSR, and this is not a secret, is in quite a different position that it was in the 40s and 50s. It has a strategic balance and, in considerable degree, I would say, a technological balance as regards the USA. The USSR will do everything needed to counteract a new US challenge. But, frankly speaking, nobody will feel better for all these steps, since the threat of war will increase.

Yevgeni Pavlovich, in relation to the present American leadership people more often use such expressions as "they run amuck!", or "they're madmen..."

Ignorance in political matters became possible, apparently, because an extremely important unit in the US mechanism dealing with the control of international relations is out of order. Once

again attempts are being made to turn politics into a continuation of war by other means. Policy is torn away from the realities of the atomic age to a still greater degree. The imperialist leaders, the present US administration, first of all, again think of nuclear force as an alternative to detente and to honest cooperation of states with different social and political systems. Instead of widening the spheres of accord, they pursue hopeless and all-penetrating power confrontation on the whole planet, search and discovery of ever new fields of military confrontation instead of lowering military balances. The Pentagon strives to turn nuclear war with all its power from unthinkable to possible, and actively prepares for it. Stress is made on victory in such a war rather than on prevention of war.

Many US leaders consider nuclear weapons as a means for building up muscles. No, they are not muscles: they are cancer tumours, and deathly dangerous any place they appear.

These militarist directions determine the US approach to the arms limitation talks, to the whole complex of relations with the USSR, and to the treaties and agreements concluded between our two countries.

This is the root of all evil and the source of the troubles which worry the Soviet and all sound people, irrespective of their ideological differences, and whose notions about peace have nothing in common with the heresy which Washington imposes on them.

Don't you think that under these conditions the activation of the world public work, scientists first of all, whose work is directed at counteracting war, have ever greater significance?

I'll begin with the main—how Soviet scientists understand their duty to mankind. A precise answer was given, to my mind, in the April Appeal. "Today when our future and that of our descendants lies on the scales of history, every scientist, guided by his knowledge and his conscience, should honestly and clearly declare where the world should go—in the direction of creating new types of strategic weapons increasing the danger of a mutually destructive conflict, or along the path of

curbing the arms race and subsequent disarmament... For our part, we are firmly convinced... that nuclear disarmament is the only way in which the states and peoples can ensure true security."

This conviction dictates the character of concrete efforts by Soviet scientists aimed at the achievement of security for all. First of all, the support by Soviet scientists of the actions of the Soviet state and Party leadership in its struggle for peace, arms race limitation and disarmament is a permanent factor. This is an important and natural circumstance because of direction and quality of the Soviet foreign policy. By the way, our government lends an attentive ear to scientists' conclusions on given questions. The second, also very important factor, is the active participation of Soviet scientists in the struggle for peace on a non-governmental level. Active in the USSR are the Soviet Peace Committee, the Scientific Council on Problems of Peace and Disarmament of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

Very important and useful work is carried out by a committee under the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. All these are national organizations actively maintaining ties and contacts with international and national organizations stepping out against war, for preservation and strengthening peace. Scientists play a noticeable role in the work of all the above-mentioned organizations (and I have named only a part of them). I even don't mention the Soviet Pugwash Committee which is part of the international movement of scientists. Last year, at the all-Union conference was founded the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defence of Peace, Against Nuclear Threat which included prominent Soviet scientists. We arranged a number of interesting meetings with our foreign colleagues. Very important, to my mind, are biennial meetings of Soviet scientists with representatives of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA. The last such meeting was held in Moscow. By an agreement, we decided that such meetings would be of a confidential character. But one thing is not a secret

NATIONAL

ROLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PARTY WORK VIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 30 Nov 83 pp 82-93)

[Article by N.N. Bokarev: "On Sociological Research on Party Work]

[Text] With the article by N.N. Bokarev, the chairman of the Central Scientific-Research Section "The Sociology of Party Work" of the Soviet Sociological Association, professor of the party development department, and doctor of philosophical sciences, the editors continue the discussion of urgent questions of the history and theory of party development in light of decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress (see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1982, Nos 9, 10, 12; 1983, Nos 1, 3, 4, 7).

Further improvement of party management of economic and cultural development, state organs, and social organizations and implementation of the urgent tasks of organizational party and ideological work in light of decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee increase the demands and volume of scientific-research work in the field of party development, in particular sociological research.

Participants in a round table discussion on these problems have shown that practical sociological research also plays its own specific role in the system of different methods of studying the experience of party development.<sup>1</sup> In recent years the link of sociological research with practical tasks being worked on by party organizations has become deeper, methods are being improved, and experience in conducting research is being accumulated. It is becoming an important source of information and a means to increase the scientific grounding of party management.

When revealing the goals and tasks of sociological research in the field of party development, the participants in the discussion justly emphasized the permanent significance of the works of Marxist-Leninist classics, and especially of V.I. Lenin, in conducting the research. Leninist methodology is a reliable foundation for further increasing the level and efficiency of sociological research. The vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences P.N. Fedoseyev reminded the sociologists of this, among other things, once again when he spoke at the 5th Report-Election Conference of the Soviet Sociological Association.

In this article I would like to devote special attention to the importance of the Leninist approach. The author also intends to cover questions involving research on party work which is being conducted within the framework of the Soviet Sociological Association, after reviewing them in light of the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which pointed out the need to improve the organization of sociological research.<sup>2</sup>

Referring to the works of Lenin while researching party work, sociologists proceed from the fact that it is precisely these works which occupy an important place in the history and theory of party development. Objective patterns of origin, operation, and development of a new type of party, its strategy and tactics, revolutionary policies, and management science are deeply revealed and grounded in these works. These works are the continually operating methodological and theoretical weapons of the party. Widely known also are the works of V.I. Lenin in which he especially considered questions of sociology: "Statistics and Sociology," "On the Question of Our Factory-Plant Statistics," and "On the Question of Tasks of Land Statistics."<sup>3</sup>

The work "Statistics and Sociology" should be especially noted. In it, V.I. Lenin substantiated the principles of selection and generalization of empirical material by sociologists. He noted that it is necessary to endeavor to establish this foundation from precise and indisputable facts which it would be possible to rely on and with which it would be possible to "contrast any of those 'general' or 'analogy' arguments which are so excessively abused in certain countries in our time." And in order to do this, wrote V.I. Lenin, "one should take not individual facts, but the whole combination of those facts which deal with the question under consideration, with no exceptions."<sup>4</sup>

V.I. Lenin repeatedly devoted attention to the enormous significance of practical social research materials for successfully directing social processes and for improving management processes. For example, in considering the question of the economics of farming, he emphasized that it "requires an answer based on precise and mass data."<sup>5</sup>

But, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, analysis of this data may be successful only when the researcher has developed a general scientific view on the vital activity and development of a certain social organism on the whole, i.e., fully encompassing the full set of phenomena. Otherwise one may get lost in the mass of figures, information, and facts, and come to the wrong conclusions.

Constantly following the Leninist principles of learning about the socio-historical process, sociologists who are studying the problems of party development must not, of course, rely only on empirical data obtained during research. A deep theoretical elaboration of questions under study is also necessary in this. And this work will be all the more successful the more firmly it relies on methodological positions developed by philosophers and economic science, as well as the history of the CPSU and party development.

However, sociologists who study party work must approach conclusions and generalizations with special responsibility, avoiding fruitless scholastic

theorizing. V.I. Lenin repeatedly spoke against infatuation with abstract slogans, general arguments, and instructions in party work. "The whole center of gravity of work," he emphasized, "should be transferred to the matter of recording and verification of practical experience," to the matter of systematic utilization of recommendations of this experience. The success of communists' work depends on the ability to "progress forward, even though extremely slowly, in extremely modest measures, not only on a business basis, but on the basis of practical experience." V.I. Lenin demanded "less general discussion and more facts and verified facts which demonstrate in what, under which conditions, and to what extent we are moving forward, standing in place, or lagging behind."<sup>6</sup>

Superficial, approximate evaluations and recommendations which at times are passed off as the latest word in sociological science, under no circumstances promote actual improvement of the work of party organizations. In order for recommendations to be properly effective, first of all it is necessary to learn, as V.I. Lenin pointed out "practical know-how and to recommend correcting mistakes and improving work only on the basis of a detailed study of appropriate facts."<sup>7</sup>

V.I. Lenin emphasized how important it is that work be based on "facts which permit precise objective verification."<sup>8</sup> He attached critical significance to detailed, indepth study of facts. "In the field of social phenomena," wrote V.I. Lenin, "there is no more prevalent and bankrupt a method than pulling out facts at random and manipulating examples. Selecting facts in general is not worth the trouble; it has no meaning, or only a negative one." It is precisely "facts," which "taken in their totality in their interrelations, are not only a 'stubborn', but undoubtedly conclusive thing."<sup>9</sup>

Steadily following these demands, the party, as an experienced leader and organizer of socialist development in our country, responds sensitively to changes which occur in society, and in accordance with them, focuses its efforts on certain sections of social life.

Soviet sociologists are helping the party obtain objective information on the efficiency of various forms and methods of work by party organizations and on new problems in the sphere of party development related to meeting tasks which ever-changing life puts before the party and society. In studying the problems of the history and theory of party development, they are limited only by facts and events which relate to the life and activity of the party itself. Sociologists proceed from the fact that the policies of the party and its practical activities are determined by the aggregate of actual historical conditions and characteristics of the socio-economic development of society.

It was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that the work of party organizations must "take public opinion into account and represent the local state of affairs more concretely."<sup>10</sup> This reflects the invariable policy of the Communist Party as V.I. Lenin taught, "to be able to unerringly determine the mood of the masses on any issue and at any moment, its actual demands, aspirations, and thoughts, and to be able to determine, without a shadow of false idealization, the level of its awareness and the power of the influence of certain prejudices and experiences."<sup>11</sup>

The Communist Party is leading society on the basis of a clear picture of the social processes taking place in it, taking existing difficulties and contradictions into account. This is a guarantee of further successful development of both our whole society and of the Communist Party.

The article by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Development in the USSR," convincingly reveals the dialectical unity between our actual successes in socialist development and those problems and difficulties which remain from the past. In these conditions, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov notes, "We must soberly see where we are. To start racing forward means to pose tasks that are not feasible; to rest on what we have achieved means not to use everything we have at our disposal. What is now required is to see our society in its real dynamics, with all its possibilities and needs."<sup>12</sup>

And here assistance to the party and party organizations is rendered by sociologists who are studying problems of party work, relying heavily on Marxist-Leninist methodology and on the basic method of sociology -- the method of dialectical materialism.

As V.I. Lenin wrote, the "scientific method in sociology", in contrast to metaphysical Marxism, is called the dialectical method, where "the society under study is considered a living, ever-developing organism" and the researcher, not permitting arbitrary combinations of individual social elements, relies on "objective analysis of production relations which make up the given social formation and on the study of the laws of its operation and development."<sup>13</sup>

Even today bourgeois sociologists try to replace materialist dialectics with other research methods. These methods, as participants in the round table discussion correctly pointed out, may also give an accurate representation of individual social phenomena in bourgeois society, but without touching upon its foundations and without revealing the essence of contemporary social processes. Such an approach is explained primarily by the apologetic functions in relation to capitalism which bourgeois sociology took upon itself long ago. It is far from the authentic goals of sociological science, which include obtaining objective knowledge of the progress and future of social development.

The dialectical, genuinely scientific method of Marxist-Leninist sociology presupposes objective analysis of the system of social relations (primarily production relations). In party development this method of learning means studying the system of relations between communists and party organizations, and other social institutions such as labor collectives, i.e., ideological, economic, political, and socio-psychological relations and relations of party leadership and control. This method takes in analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, historical and logical approaches, moving up from the abstract to the concrete, and so forth. All these composite parts of the whole sociological method to one extent or another are also present during the study of problems of party development by practical sociological research.

The participants in the round table discussion<sup>14</sup> proposed recommendations for establishing closer cooperation with scientific-research sections of the Soviet

Sociological Association (SSA) and with its regional branches. Indeed, this cooperation could be more fruitful, especially when the Central Scientific-Research Section "Sociology of Party Work", which has the obligation of rendering necessary scientific-method aid to sociological services in party committees was recently established and began its work in the SSA. There are more than 540 of these organs, formed in the Central Committees of Union republics and in kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party committees, within the limits of the SSA.<sup>15</sup> The activity of some have just begun; others have been working successfully for a long time.

Sociological subdivisions of the Association, which operate in party committees of various levels, have diverse organizational and structural forms.<sup>16</sup> They are social institutes of sociological research, scientific methods councils on sociological research, councils on social planning and the study of public opinion, non-staff departments of sociological research, sections, and working groups, and so forth. But whatever these services are called, they have a single task: to help party committees obtain reliable information about very important social processes. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of subdivisions in this plan. They actively participate in supplying information for solving many problems of a socio-economic, political, and indoctrinational nature. There is already a substantial amount of practical know-how in this matter.

For example, sociological subdivisions of the Association which are operating in many party committees of cities and rayons of Azerbaijan have accumulated valuable experience in studying public opinion. The Center of the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research in the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party is coordinating this work in the republic. Many problems in the republic have been studied under the direct supervision of this Center. In particular, research has been conducted on questions of improving the socialist way of life, increasing the efficiency of production and the quality of work, improving ideological and political-indoctrination work among workers, formulating an activist view of life on their part, and instilling an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings and omissions, and on questions related to strengthening the role of labor collectives and party organizations in performing these tasks.

The Center works out programs and determines the basic directions of the study of public opinion and sociological research and provides practical supervision of all this work within the republic. As a result the front of scientific-research work is being expanded in different areas of the socio-economic and socio-political life of the republic; wide levels of the community are being involved in discussion of the most important, urgent problems; methods, procedures, and means for studying public opinion and sociological research are being improved. The Center actively helps introduce sociological results obtained into practical party work in order to further improve ideological-political work in the republic and increase the labor and socio-political activism of the masses. In recent years systematic training of managers of sociological services organs and subdivisions is being provided and the links of scientist-sociologists with party committees and councils for the study of public opinion and sociological research which operate under them are being expanded.

All this work is being conducted under the supervision of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and its sections. A year and a half ago the Central Committee discussed the question of further improving organization of the study of public opinion and sociological research in the republic in light of decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party were charged with improving coordination of the activities of sociological subdivisions and service organs which are studying problems in labor collectives. For this purpose, creating councils for studying public opinion and sociological research within party committees and increasing the quality and efficiency of this research was recommended.<sup>17</sup>

Much is being done in the republic for the training of sociologists. For example, in 1980-1981 students of the sociology department in the department of the party-management aktiv at the University of Marxist-Leninism of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee were graduated. Another group of sociologists received training in a special lecture bureau at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's House of Political Education.

In those gorkoms and raykoms of the party where there are no qualified sociologists, specialist-consultants provide scientific supervision of research. The structure of the Council on Sociological Research at the Lenkoran Gorkom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party is interesting in this respect. Its rights and responsibilities are the same as at any other social commission in the gorkom of the party. The chairman of the Council in Lenkoran is the second secretary of the party gorkom and his deputy is the chief of the department of propaganda and agitation. The leadership of the Council provides a direct link with the Center under the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and scientific consultants -- editorial personnel of the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.<sup>18</sup>

There are six scientific-research groups in the Council: the study of the efficiency of political indoctrination work; the study of labor and moral indoctrination in collectives; social problems of the family, daily life, and leisure time; social problems of culture and education; the study of the effectiveness of socialist competition; and the study of the effectiveness of propaganda on the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress. A school of sociology operates in the party gorkom, where methodological, theoretical, and procedural questions of conducting sociological research in labor collectives and party organizations are studied. Experience in such research is being accumulated. Research on the development of labor and social activism of the region's workers and information sources which are called on to form public opinion on urgent socio-political questions, for example, has yielded much that is valuable.

Sociologists of the subdivision of the Association which operates in Stavropol Kray have accumulated a significant amount of work know-how. In the raykoms and gorkoms of the party there, sociological laboratories and councils for practical sociological research (KSI) were established and operating successful. The KSI laboratory under the CPSU Kraykom coordinates the work of all these links.

Stavropol sociologists devote a great deal of attention to vocational training. Many members of KSI councils in gorkoms and raykoms of the CPSU are studying in the sociologist-social scientist training school. The first group of 50 people already finished their studies, adding to the ranks of qualified researchers. Since 1982 an extension department for training sociologists has been open at the University of Marxism-Leninism of the party kraykom. Jointly with the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, they held a kray scientific-practical conference which summarized the five-year experience of the work of local sociologists and adopted practical recommendations for improving their work further.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan, urgent problems of improving ideological and organizational-party work are the center of attention at the KSI laboratory organized at the party kraykom. In 1981 the condition of party training was studied and exploration of forms and methods of management of spiritual-ideological processes was outlined. The study of problems of further increasing the role of party meetings, correct assignment of party commissions, and a scientific approach to improving style and methods of party work occupies an important place in the activities of sociologists.

For example, the activity of nine city and rayon party committees was studied under a specially developed program. The opinion of about 3,000 party activists on questions of selection, placement, and indoctrination of personnel and the situation with criticism and self-criticism was studied. As it was determined, activists believe that on the whole in party organizations, Leninist principles of selection, placement, and indoctrination of personnel are maintained. However, one out of five people noted that political and work qualities are not always fully taken into account when promoting to leadership positions. Consequently, this phase of party work demands increased attention from party committees.

Interesting data was obtained during research on the budgeting of time of employees of party gorkom and raykom apparatus. In particular it was ascertained that primary party organizations are visited more often by secretaries of the CPSU gorkom and raykom, and by chiefs of departments and instructors less often. A great deal of the latter's time is spent preparing materials for the buro, plenums, and conferences. They do not always manage to render concrete practical help to lower party organizations in time.

Extremely instructive data was obtained on the assignment of social commissions. In Stavropol Kray about 53,000 communists work in election party organs, more than 135,000 are propagandists, political information officers, and agitators, and 60,000 are in people's control organs. The assignment of commissions is being improved. While in the early 1970's 22 percent of the communists had 6-10 commissions and 19.1 percent none at all, in 1979-1980 more than 60 percent had 1-2 commissions and only 3.3 percent had none at all. The attention of party organizations is now directed to having commissions performed only in free time so that the interests and capabilities of communists are more fully taken into account when assigning.<sup>19</sup>

In this way, the sociological subdivision of the Association which operates in the kray renders practical assistance to party organizations, having at their disposal valuable information on the dynamics of processes which originate in these organizations.

Sociological services organs of the Association, which operate in Latvian party committees, devote a great deal of attention to developing scientific-research work in the field of party development. Ten years ago the question of coordinating sociological research conducted by gorkoms and raykoms of the party and party committees of the largest enterprises and organizations was solved. In 1973 a republic Commission of Sociological Research on the Efficiency of Party Work was established which operates with the rights of a section of the coordinating council of the Institute of Party History at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee -- a branch of the Institute of Marxist-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee. The activity of this commission received some exposure during the discussion of urgent problems of sociological research of party work by participants in the round table discussion.<sup>20</sup>

I would like to note that successful work of the commission is explained to a great extent by the fact that a group of scientific and party employees of the republic who are related by the type of their activity to the utilization of sociological methods have become members. Therefore the commission renders skilled scientific-methods and consulting assistance to research collectives, with a deep knowledge of the matter reviews programs of the most important sociological research, and hears reports on its progress and results. It is very important that the collection and storage of sociological information for its better utilization in the practical activity of departments of the Central Committee and gorkoms and raykoms be entrusted to the sector of party development of the Institute of Party History at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.<sup>21</sup>

The group of sociologists at the Khabarovsk Kraykom of the CPSU is also working successfully. This same kind of group was formed in 1980 at the Vladivostok party gorkom. There are sociological subdivisions at party organizations in Magadan and Komsomol-na-Amure. All the sociological research in this region involves solving vital practical tasks which face party committees. With the assistance of sociologists who are members of the Association, party committees, among other things, are solving tasks of improving management of socio-demographic and ideological processes and implementing socio-economic programs and solutions to problems of improving organizational party work, and others.

Bashkir Sociologists are conducting important work on Association policy. The results of a great deal of research were discussed there at the republic scientific-practical conference and meetings of party committees. Practical recommendations by sociologists on questions of the study of public opinion and improving ideological-political, labor, and moral indoctrination of workers are regularly published. Working out scientific methods occupies an important place in the activities of sociologists. These elaborations are often published and used by party committees in preparing and conducting sociological research.<sup>22</sup>

Sociological subdivisions at the Krasnoyarsk Kraykom, Ivanovo Gorkom, Brezhnevskiy Raykom (City of Moscow) of the party, and many other party committees in the country are working efficiently within the framework of the Association.

However there are also great reserves in the matter of increasing the efficiency of sociological research of party work and improving it organization.

In the first place, there are still many highly qualified specialists who could bring practical benefit to party organizations, but who are working on their own problems, somehow removed from the urgent tasks of party work. According to data from the Soviet Sociological Association, in 1981 there were about 1,000 different sociological subdivisions and more than 5,000 sociologists and specialists conducting sociological research in our country. More than 10,000 plant sociologists should be added to this. Undoubtedly these figures have risen in recent years. This whole large team of sociologists should be working in close contact with party organizations and helping further improve their role in the political system of society, and in the economy, culture, and other spheres of social life.

In the second place, it is advisable that all sociological services organs which are working on questions of party work became members of the Soviet Sociological Association. This would enable them to coordinate their research with research of sociologists from other regions, exchange accumulated know-how, and receive methodological assistance. In order to do this, a Central Scientific Research Section, "The Sociology of Party Work," should properly be formed within the framework of the SSA. Of course, in many kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees sociological services organs -- departments, sectors, laboratories, and councils working on voluntary principles -- have already accumulated rich experience in conducting sociological research in party organizations and efficient implementation of recommendations by sociologists into party committee practice.<sup>23</sup> Others have no such experience. Many of them on the whole do not become members of the Association and it frequently happens that there is simply nowhere and no one with whom to study how to conduct a survey, how to fill out a questionnaire, and so forth. Recruiting them into the Association and continually exchanging experience within its framework would help raise the efficiency of research on party work being conducted under the supervision of party committees.

Finally, and in the third place, links between sociological services organs in party committees within the Association in relation to the section "Sociology of Party Work" must be improved. Of course, some work has already been done in this direction. In expanding its links with sociological services organs of party committees, a section tries to help improve research, its quality, and the growth in its efficiency, and increase the sociological sophistication of all workers who are specializing in the field of research on problems of party development. The section promotes more fruitful utilization of research results in practical social planning and management and in the work of party committees.

The section and its regional branches work under the supervision of party committees.<sup>24</sup> Methodological and theoretical seminars on problems of the sociology of party work and scientific-methodological and scientific-practical conferences are conducted on the tasks of party organizations. Association sociologists participate in preparing and discussing research results at meetings of party committees and prepare programs and research methodologies in the field of party development. Useful know-how in conducting sociological research on party work is being summarized and disseminated. Creative links with scientific-research collectives are being established. The section

coordinates work of outside services organs in party committees, participates in preparing subject anthologies, and covers the activity of sociological services organs of party committees in scientific journals and in the periodical press.

However, some difficulties in developing sociological research and introducing their results into the practices of party committees have been noted. The point is that many sociological services organs and subdivisions which belong to the Association are still working in isolation from one another. Organizing research so that it is conducted by uniform, well thought-out methods and programs, coordinated in time and in different organizations of the rayon, city, oblast, and republic is not always successfully accomplished. Charters for sociological subdivisions functioning at party committees have not been developed everywhere. Too little attention is still being devoted to information on research results of the party aktiv and to the introduction of results and recommendations obtained on the basis of research into the practices of organizational-party and ideological work of party committees.

In general the subject is shortcomings, the elimination of which would make it possible to increase the level of scientific research on the problems of party work. It is likely that if special study of all problems of this type were conducted, it would be of unquestionable benefit. I think that in order to further improve sociological research on party work and coordination of scientific-research work in the field of party development, it would be useful to prepare and hold an all-Union coordinating conference or a conference of all collectives and groups interested in this question, including representatives of sociological services organs of party committees. We have already had similar experience. In 1976 the Soviet Sociological Association organized a sectional meeting especially on problems of party work research. Unfortunately, there have been no more such conferences.

The need for holding an all-Union forum for examining problems is dictated by the fact that a number of important methodological and theoretical questions of the sociology of party work merit further discussion. These are the following, in particular: interconnection of party development and applied sociology; accurate definition of the subject of special sociological theory in the field of party work; capabilities of each of the sociological methods in exploring urgent problems of party development; questions of training and retraining sociologists specializing in this field, and others.

Take as just one example the question of training sociologist personnel. Recently special courses on sociological study of party work have been introduced in the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee and the Higher Party School. Nonetheless the demands of party committees (and scientific-research subdivisions) for professionally trained sociologists is very great. And it is important to use all channels for professional training in the field of the sociology of party work here: universities of Marxism-Leninism, schools for plant sociologists, creative contracts with scientific collectives, and self-education. Consequently, we need a joining of efforts, a general plan, and even before that -- clarification of requirements for personnel, a base for training, and the like. In short, there is something to discuss on the all-Union level.

Of great importance in the further improvement of sociological research on party work is improving its organization and accumulating and generalizing

the experience of conducting this research in party committees. In this respect seminar materials of the chiefs of departments of propaganda and agitation of party raykoms for studying the work experience at the Brezhnevskiy Raykom of the CPSU in preparing and conducting sociological research and utilizing its results in party work are of special interest. The Moscow City Committee of the CPSU conducted such a seminar in 1980.

There is much to be seriously discussed in the matter of utilizing results of sociological research by party committees and improving its coordination, and rendering continuous scientific-methodological assistance to social scientists and sociologists and scientific and party workers locally. It is very important, for example, to provide sociological services organs at party committees with standard methods and programs of research. This would make it possible to correlate results on one and the same questions in different rayons and in different party organizations. In general, it is worth giving wider exposure to elaborations and recommendations in the field of the sociology of party work.

In this way, many questions for more substantiated discussion are accumulated. And this is no accident. Decisions adopted by the party in recent years have been an important incentive for developing sociological research in the most diverse directions, including the field of party development. During these years, sociologists studying party work have, in general, achieved substantial successes, as participants in the round table discussion also observed. But there have also been shortcomings. In particular, at times an infatuation with quantity of research to the detriment of its quality has been observed; and there have been methodological and procedural mistakes and a superficial approach to organization of research and to generalization of resulting data. There were also other errors. Unfortunately, some of them have not been eliminated even now and the participants in the round table discussion justifiably also called attention to that. In order to get rid of them conclusively, common efforts on an all-Union level are needed. An all-Union meeting or conference could give the impetus to such efforts.

Today the next task which faces us is increasing the quality of sociological research and bringing it even closer to the practices of party organizations and the demands resulting from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The need for qualitative improvement of research is dictated by demands for further development of party management, primarily in the sphere of economic and social development.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum "Urgent Questions of Ideological and Mass-Political Work of the Party" emphasized that "from economists, philosophers, historians, sociologists, psychologists, and lawyers the party and state expect elaborations of reliable paths to increasing the efficiency of production and research on the patterns of the formation of a classless structure of society, internationalization of social life, development of socialist people's power and social awareness, and problems of communist indoctrination."<sup>25</sup> Scientific elaborations which are developed by sociologists, as is also true in the case

of other social scientists, must flow out into practical recommendations, it was noted at the Plenum. These recommendations, in their turn, are to help party committees during supervision of complex ideological processes. To this end, increasing the significance of both the theoretical and applied functions of sociology, in particular its role in working out a system of criteria and indicators of the efficiency of ideological work, is important. We are speaking here of more successfully formulating in the daily labor and socio-political activities of communists and non-party members -- qualities of a socialist laborer: a demand for conscientious labor for the common good; a Marxist-Leninist worldview and political and economic thinking; and socialist enterprise and efficiency.

Characteristics of contemporary conditions of ideological and mass-political work govern the demand to improve selection, placement, and indoctrination of ideological personnel and create the need for indepth elaboration of scientific bases of training ideological personnel, a search for ways to optimize this training, theoretical generalization of accumulated know-how, and on this basis -- a rise in the effectiveness of the party's ideological influence.

On all levels of party management of ideological work, it is very important to know and to formulate correctly the reasonable needs and interests, value orientations, aims, and activist posture of different categories of the population. Sociological research in the field of ideological and mass-political work should also promote this. It is important to note here that the system of studying the efficiency of this work created as a result of scientific research, including that which is conducted by sociologists, must also reflect the essence of ideological processes on all "rungs" of efficiency: needs, interests, knowledge, convictions, activist posture, and social activism. This system of indicators must reflect all actual ideological processes, not only those which come under the influence of different ideological organs and institutions, i.e., they must include not only spiritual, but also social and economic factors and conditions. In this way an extensive, comprehensive approach to the matter is needed, which reflects not only the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral indoctrination in research work, but also a unity of ideological indoctrination and organizational-party and socio-economic activity.

The decree of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes: "Efforts of the party and the people are focusing on tasks of systematic and comprehensive improvement of developed socialism, the implementation of which depends directly on the level of awareness and activism of workers. Ideological work is increasingly becoming paramount, and its role and significance are growing. V.I. Lenin taught that in solving new tasks" from the political point of view, it is precisely the training of the masses which is the most important thing."<sup>26</sup>

Difficulties in management of ideological processes are primarily related to the complexity of the processes themselves. But they are also caused by relapses of petty bourgeois psychology and the influence of bourgeois propaganda, which penetrates our reality through various channels. Searching for ways to overcome the difficulties which arise in the process of our

economic, social, and cultural development merits fixed attention from our sociologists. Research on the activities of the mass information and propaganda media -- newspapers, radio, television, institutes of oral political information and agitation, and institutions of literature and art -- is timely.

The materials of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee devoted attention to the need to conduct systematic scientific research (including sociological research) on the efficiency of indoctrination work and to more widely introduce know-how on the creation of scientific-methods centers and groups in party committees for these purposes. The Central Committee of the party has demanded an increase in the role of sociological research in organizing indoctrination activities and in organizing an all-Union center for the study of public opinion, based at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research.<sup>27</sup>

Relying on the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, sociologists are called on, through their practical recommendations, to help party committees achieve a close unity of ideological-indoctrinal, organizational, and economic work, and successfully combine political education, dissemination of political information, and the activities of various ideological organs with active recruitment of workers for management of the affairs of society and the state, and in the organization of monitoring.

An important task of sociological research in the field of indoctrination is expanding conscious and active participation of the Soviet people in communist development and providing solutions for the main national economic problems. These include: increasing the efficiency of production; intensifying production; carrying out the Food and Energy Programs; insuring efficient utilization of production potential; strengthening the economic and defense power of our country further; increasing the people's prosperity; and others. Party committees are assigned a decisive role in this, while sociological subdivisions under their direct supervision are called on to offer the appropriate scientific assistance.

Many party committees today are already planning to conduct such research to help solve the problems mentioned. So, for example, a number of party committees in oblasts of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR have made plans to conduct research jointly with the Moscow Higher Party School on the theme: "The Activity of Party Committees and Organizations in Fulfilling Decisions of the May 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Implementing the Food Program." The CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the basic burden in carrying out the Food Program lies on the shoulders of the party raykoms, which must raise the level of organizational and ideological-indoctrinal work in the masses even higher and improve work with agricultural personnel. The active role of primary party organizations in carrying out the Food Program was emphasized; the moral-psychological climate in collectives, the level of organization and discipline, labor output, and final results on the whole depend to a great extent on the activities of primary party organizations.<sup>28</sup>

In connection with this, sociologists are going to study the level and style of party management of agriculture under conditions of the agro-industrial complex, and of the forms and methods of political, organizational, and ideological work by party committees and organizations for carrying out the Food Program. Special attention is being devoted to work with personnel, and above all training and indoctrination of management personnel and workers in the common occupations who, because of their level of knowledge and competency, have the ability to manage agriculture on the level of the contemporary scientific advances with skillful utilization of intensive factors of the growth of agricultural production and sectors related to it. Such questions as the development of a creative approach to work, independence and initiative in work, increasing responsibility for assigned work sector, maintaining party, state, and labor discipline, and others are to be researched.

Recently the role of labor collectives and social organizations in the ideological indoctrination of workers has increased substantially. This should be especially emphasized in connection with the adoption of the Law on Labor Collectives and Increasing Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations. It is precisely in labor collectives that the main criterion of the efficiency of ideological indoctrination -- the growth of political awareness and labor activism of the masses -- is revealed in its totality.

Sociologists are actively engaging in fulfilling tasks set by the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the eighth session of the 10th USSR Supreme Soviet. Sociological services organs which operate in party committees and at enterprises are called on to help improve party management of all spheres of the life of labor collectives, regions, and society on the whole. Nonetheless their fruitfulness depends to a great extent on improving sociological research itself -- at all stages of collection, processing, and analysis of social information, and in developing practical recommendations and putting them into practice.

Socio-economic plans being developed under the supervision of party organizations have attained almost universal distribution today. As is well-known, our state plans for the development of the national economy are created as comprehensive plans which envision both economic and social development. In production plans of labor collectives sections have been introduced which outline the future of social development also.

Under these conditions, successful theoretical and practical development of a system of social indicators and its inclusion in planning and management practices depends to a great extent on sociologists. It is extremely important here to take the essence of the comprehensive system of socio-economic indicators into account and to more closely coordinate the tasks and results of research on party work with those changes which are occurring in labor collectives and in society in the present stage, and which are reflected in this system of indicators.

The appropriate conclusions must be drawn from the criticism of the work of the Institute of Sociological Research.<sup>29</sup> This concerns, in the first place,

increasing the quality and scientific-methods level of research and orientating it to more pressing problems of party life and the life of different social groups of society. Improving the organization of research itself and establishing systematic records and generalization of progressive experience, exchange of experience, and coordination of research should become important elements in improving the work.

In the contemporary phase, the fact that scientific personnel are being increasingly recruited to prepare and implement decisions adopted by party organs, and a whole complex of methods (including sociological ones) is being used to study the most important processes of social life and of party work itself is a characteristic feature of party management. In these conditions, sociological research which relies on Leninist methodology occupies a worthy position in the analytical work of party organizations and in the process of solving important practical questions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1983, No 3, pp 49-78.
2. See "Materials of the Central Committee Plenum of the CPSU. 14-15 June 1983," Moscow, 1983, pp 32,33,63, and others.
3. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch" [Complete Works], Vol 4, pp 1-34; Vol 24, pp 274-281; Vol 30, pp 349-356.
4. Ibid., Vol 30, pp 350-351.
5. Ibid., Vol 19, p 323.
6. Ibid., Vol 42, pp 323-325.
7. Ibid., p 346.
8. Ibid., Vol 34, p 123.
9. Ibid., Vol 30, p 350.
10. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 74.
11. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 44, p 348.
12. Yu. V. Andropov, "Izbrannyye stat'i i rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches], 2nd ed, Moscow, 1983, p 245.
13. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 1, p 165.
14. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS 1983, No 3, pp 73-74.

15. Scientific research on social problems which is done by sociologists who are members of the SSA is also carried out on a job basis (for example plant sociologists) and on the basis of cost accounting (contract work).
16. With active participation by the Association many party obkoms have established social institutes of sociological research. Such institutes are in operation in Leningrad, Gorky, Pskov, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, Irkutsk, Ufa, Dnepropetrovsk, Kostroma, Lvov, and other cities in the country. In Krasnoyarsk Kray all sociological research on party work is carried out under the direction of the Council for Party Organizational Work of the CPSU kraykom. This function is performed by the Methods Council of Sociologists at the House of Political Education in Donetsk Oblast, the social science research laboratory of problems of communist indoctrination of the CPSU gorkom in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, the ideological commission of the CPSU obkom in Moscow Oblast, the Council for the Organization of Scientific Research on Problems of Ideological Work at the party gorkom in Sverdlovsk, and so on.
17. See SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA 1982, No 2, pp 69-73.
18. Ibid., 1982, No 1, pp 51-59.
19. Ibid., 1982, No 3, p 96.
20. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS 1983, No 3, p 61.
21. See SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA 1975, No 3, pp 122-129.
22. Thus, for example, just one of the sociological subdivisions of the republic -- the sociological laboratory on the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation of the Bashkir State Pedagogical Institute -- published, under the direction of the department of propaganda and agitation of the Bashkir obkom of the CPSU, three methodologies for studying the effectiveness of agitation and propaganda work in recent years (see "Methodology for Determining the Effectiveness of the Work of Agitators," Ufa, 1979; "Methodology for Determining the Social and Economic Effectiveness of Economic Education at the Enterprise or Association Level. Recommendations for Party Committees and Councils on Economic Education of Enterprises, Kolkhozes, and Sovkhozes," Ufa, 1981; and, "Standard Documents for Determining the Social and Economic Effectiveness of Economic Education at the Enterprise and Association Level," Ufa, 1981).
23. See V. Korobeynikov, "The Party Committee Studies Public Opinion," KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 10.
24. There are 18 regional divisions operating within the Association; most of them have sections that specialize in studies of party work.
25. "Materialy Plenuma..." op. cit., p 70.
26. Ibid., pp 67-68; Lenin, op. cit., Vol 42, p 217.

- 27 "Materialy Plenuma..." op. cit., p 79.
28. See "Prodovol'stvennaya programma na period do 1990 goda i mery po yeye realizatsii. Materialy mayskogo Plenuma TsK KPSS 1982 goda" [The Food Program for the Period Until 1990 and Measures to Carry It Out. Materials of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], Moscow, 1982, p 22.
29. "Materialy Plenuma..." op. cit., p 32.

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NATIONAL

HOW FREE ENTERPRISE IS STIFLED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by S. Livshin under the rubric 'Topical Satire': "A Goat Under Suspicion"]

[Text] No, at first everything was fine with her. She browsed, gave milk, bleated. But one day this goat was acquired by an enterprising man. Then he bought a second goat. Then...

The chain of associations forged in our consciousness by summaries of court proceedings uncoils along a smooth trajectory. By day and by night along this golden chain walks--no, darts!--a fellow with grasping paws. The fingers on them won't bend--the rings get in the way. Don't bother feeding this fellow bread, just let him get hold of some source of profit. Then he'll have bread covered on both sides with pressed caviar...

More than one generation of satirists has grown up, ossified and retired on a pension, all the while selflessly castigating money-grubbing. And how could one not castigate if it is suddenly discovered that someone has a secret, private flock of sheep or a plantation where even a combine would get lost? Or if enterprise comes down to just private business? Or to buying up, somewhere far off on the way to market, products brought in by collective farmers? And, hiding behind fake calluses and a fake document about his agrarian status, this middleman-interceptor begins selling at vampirish prices.

But let us look more closely through the opening of the moral and economic gunsight: Is what's in front of us the right target in this case? Is an enterprising person always necessarily a scoundrel? A secret ovine king?... A tomato duke?... His grape highness?... Or have many people simply grown accustomed to seeing behind parsley grown on one's own initiative not healthy initiative but merely a garden thief?

... There was an engineer. an ordinary engineer. He walked to work, he innovated, he lived in the suburbs, he roade downtown to the vegetable sorting. But one evening, after watching a television film about the

benefits of personal subsidiary farms, he began to think. Maybe he should take a chance himself? The announcer, smiling gently, had asked him to turn down the volume on the television set, the children had long since settled down, and the curling pins had appeared on his wife's head, and still the engineer was calculating, estimating. It looked like a lot of trouble, but profitable. Profitable, but somehow awkward. Awkward, but tempting. And he decided.

One fine day the neighbors (subsequently the witnesses) in amazement saw the engineer (subsequently the "chicken gangster") put out to peck and scratch next to the house a small brood of crested fowl. The engineer's children ran around with a clumsy but excited "tsip-tsip!" and the engineer's wife betakes herself with the excess chicken production to--oh, horrors!--the city market.

Although this sounds almost like a dragon fable [Gorynych], let's take a look at the people who are the neighbors of the engineer's wife at the bazaar today. Two baskets away from her there stands, with sacks, a pensioner whose garden produced so many pears last summer that it was overflowing with them. Farther on is a dump truck driver who knows a thing or two about raising pigs at home; a lady bookkeeper who has tenderly raised about ten rabbits in a storeroom; an agricultural equipment operator in whose yard the family's efforts have created a surplus of meat and milk products...

About twenty years ago such an idea would never have occurred to them. But if it had, it would have fled with a scream; "What next!--Starting up a private store!" But time has sorted it all out: what's really a store, and what's a thoroughly honorable subsidiary farm. A personal plot. A gardening association. A collective garden.

Let's take a look on the other side of its fence. There are eight million hectares over there. On them almost half of the country's fruits and berries are produced, and about a third of the meat, milk and eggs. Is it conceivable that such a contribution to the public's table would be refused?

Refused?--Not likely! From all sides come the calls: Cultivate! Produce! They encourage: Get on with it! They reassure: We'll back you up! You want a cow or a heifer? Here's the credit you need, and on the most favorable terms. An advance on future agricultural production? It's yours!

It would seem as though everything is in favor! How could anything be nicer? But when it comes to this particular goat owner, out there away from the center, there are people who want to worm their way into his confidence and settle themselves there quite comfortably in order to conduct a thorough inspection. Yes, they have read the pertinent decrees. But all that is, as it were, for the country as a whole, and if in a particular case in a specific out-of-the-way region there appears

an individual with a few head of small horned or feathered farm animals... Well, let him get away with this and tomorrow maybe he'll even get a cow! And the day after tomorrow... it's frightening even to think of it!

And why just think, if you can write? This way, they say, and every way, help to restrain the rabbit magnate! With his rapacious character they say he'll disgrace our whole urban-type settlement (or oblast, or continent, or planet). In general, save us, the neighbors, from the dominance of private initiative.

Now when people shout "SOS"--what responsibility do they have? Well, it would be worthwhile to ask some questions. For instance, do they understand the difference between private and personal property? Where, in which depths of the political economy, have they perceived the relationship between the key factor in extracting surplus value and the personal garden?

Soon a representative commission swoops down on this disturber of the peace. It sees a splendid rancho about the size of a billiard table. Or even just a garage. In it there really are rabbits. Or perhaps goats! Two whole individuals!

The commission walks around the perimeter of the rancho and peers and sniffs vigilantly. No, there is no smell indicating misappropriation of bakery goods with subsequent use as feed. No hired labor has been discovered. The cleanliness is as on a frigate before the arrival of the rear admiral. All in all, things are in order.

"In order?!" sputters the public behind a neighboring fence. "Why, he's covering up! Do you suppose an honorable person would keep things that clean?"

And again, in a shower, like the fragments of a hand grenade, the neighbors' reports fly to all levels of the government: "Call this man who makes millions at home to an accounting! Eliminate this vampire in the guise of an engineer!"

The vampire laments: How can this be? I labor after the workday, I respond to the government's suggestion that we raise animals and plants for food. Everything is legal and in the spirit of progress! It's for everyone's benefit...

But not only the neighbors--now even his colleagues regard him coldly. And at school his children are tormented: "Hey you, little bourgeois!" And if truth issues from the mouths of babes, just try to gainsay it!

Downcast and confused, the culprit in all this commotion goes forth to face the nineteenth successive commission. Wearily he explains to

the examiners how, in full accordance with regulations and laws, he decided to start up a small subsidiary farm. Why? It would be a help to his family and a supplementary source of foodstuffs for the townspeople.

"And where do you get...?" begins the nineteenth commission.

Taught by bitter experience, the "vampire" takes from his pocket copies of checks for mixed feed, which he obtained in a store with very great difficulty. The rest comes from mowing and pulling wild grass and weeds, and also from purchase of grain by-products at the dump.

For even there, in the realm of rubbish, there is a bright little fellow. He awaits the arrival of the garbage trucks and picks over what people have discarded. Livestock will eat it and even say thank you in their four-legged language.

Bored, the nineteenth listens to him. No, it's not entirely... But it's also not very... But is it really necessary to be an expert to conduct such an inquiry? To examine what doesn't need to be examined? But why take on the responsibility for someone who's out there with his meat-and-milk initiative,--no, why should we? And then--he's not just doing all that for nothing, not just out of a young naturalist's love for parsley. There's the smell of an extra ruble here! Of profit! So would you ask someone to encourage these unhealthy tendencies toward self-enrichment?!

To members of a commission, as to ordinary people, nothing human is foreign. Including sheep's-milk cheese, pumpkins, lard and other appetizing items raised on a personal plot and sold at a market. But as people who are freed from responsibility by distrust, they want to step on the throat of their own sheep's-milk cheese--if only so as not to let the pernicious owner of a personal plot slip by. In the depths of their souls they understand perfectly: He's no crook! Even quite the contrary. But why dive into the depths if one can glide across the uppermost, customary layer?

After all, if this lively fellow didn't busy himself with his plot after work but instead watched television or guzzled port wine, there wouldn't be any problems here for the envious public--the neighbors--or for the traveling commissions.

The local authorities are fed up with coping with the endless alarms. People won't write without some reason... Of course, it is suspicious: None of the neighbors are messing around with raising rabbits, but this guy's started doing it! It wouldn't be a bad idea to check to see what he's like at work... Yes, just in case...

Also the man of initiative has himself grown rather tired of the penetrating stares and the commissions' repeated counting of his one-and-a half

goats. After all, he decides, how long can one maneuver between the zealous public-spirited Scylla Petrovna and the stern district Charybdis Stepanovich! And now there is one less person with initiative. One less source of meat, wool and milk. And all the energy of the henceforth ex-vampire is expended on collecting stamps or building a miniature model of the first paddle-wheel steamer, at a scale of an invisible one to one hundred fifty.

This, of course, is more peaceful. Nobody throws a rock into your garden if there's nothing growing in the garden.

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ACADEMICIANS' ROUNDTABLE ON CPSU IDEOLOGICAL WORK (PART II)

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 25 Oct 83)  
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[Roundtable materials compiled by L. F. Morozov and V. V. Shinkarenko: "On Studying the Experience of Ideological, Mass Political Work by the Party in Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"; for Part I see JPRS-UPS-84-002 USSR Report: Political and Sociological Affairs, pp 17-59]

[Text] On the Importance of the Historical Experience of CPSU Ideological Activities

L. F. Morozov. In the process of the struggle to establish and strengthen socialist society, the party has acquired the richest experience in ideological and political indoctrination work, with this being of inestimable historical significance. The entire history of the CPSU shows that among the most important sources of the party's strength are the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory considering the new historical conditions and the uniting of the ideas of communism with actual communist action.<sup>1</sup> A study of this aspect of CPSU experience convinces one of the vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory and helps to seek out and apply the most effective forms and methods of the communist indoctrination of the masses.

The ideological work carried out by the CPSU has helped and is helping to realize its program goals in shaping the socialist awareness of the people and in achieving a level of political culture "where the masses know everything, can judge everything and do everything consciously."<sup>2</sup>

The CPSU has organized and is organizing all ideological work in relying on the Leninist principles elaborated and tested out on the basis of generalizing the very rich practice of the revolutionary struggle and creative activities. Above all this is the principle of party loyalty. An ideological worker cannot help but take up the viewpoint of a certain class and, consequently, cannot help but carry out a certain party line expressing the interests of its class. "To live in society and to be free of society is impossible."<sup>3</sup>

Any underplaying of socialist ideology, any divorcing oneself from it, pointed out V. I. Lenin, means a strengthening of the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie. In real life the question is just as follows: bourgeois or socialist ideology, for there is no middle ground.<sup>4</sup>

The Communist Party has consistently carried out this principle, in waging an uncompromising ideological struggle against the forces hostile to socialism and the various opposition anti-Leninist groupings. The principle of party loyalty has assumed particular importance at the present stage, when the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism on the world scene has assumed particular acuteness. In the struggle against real socialism, the imperialist bourgeoisie has assigned a special role to ideological subversion designed to cause, in the words of its ideologists, an "ideological erosion." As is known, in many capitalist nations, anticommunist propaganda has been raised to a level of state policy. There must be active and convincing propaganda work and a prompt rebuff of the hostile ideological attacks. This is the position of the CPSU which has carried out a clear class line.

V. I. Lenin inseparably linked a party approach in ideological work to scientific objectivity and correctness. He decisively unmasked any attempts to depict the desired as the real and demanded an honest treatment of the events of social life and various political and ideological phenomena. The embellishing of reality, demagoguery and the deception of the masses are a characteristic trait in the ideology of the departing reactionary classes who are endeavoring to hold on to their privileges. On the contrary, the party of the ascending, revolutionary class (which is the working class) proceeds from the fact that it can successfully carry out its historic mission only by relying on the objective laws of social development, considering the real situation in all spheres of sociopolitical life.

The scientific nature of ideological activities in the struggle for socialism has also been apparent in the specific historical approach to social phenomena. The party has organized its ideological work in accord with the tasks being carried out at one or another historical stage and with the existing balance of class forces.

The demand for a specific historical approach has fully maintained its importance under present-day conditions. Without a profound analysis of the specific situation and consideration of the uniqueness of social development at each given moment, effective political indoctrination is inconceivable. The party has constantly coordinated its ideological indoctrination with the specific historical situation and with those internal and external conditions under which our development is occurring.

The guarantee for success in political, ideological and organizational work is seen by the party in its inseparable link with the masses, in knowledge of their moods, in an understanding and ability to approach them and in winning their absolute trust. "Ideological indoctrination is primarily a question of the party's link with the masses. Its importance lies in this," emphasized Comrade Yu. V. Andropov.<sup>5</sup>

The Communist Party has always achieved success in mobilizing the masses to carry out the tasks of socialist construction due to the fact that it has organized its work considering the ideological and political maturity of the Soviet people. V. I. Lenin repeatedly explained that an awareness of the various truths by the vanguard of the class, by the party, still does not mean that these have already been perceived by the broad masses of workers.<sup>6</sup> At the same

time, the party has acted decisively and does act against any playing down of the awareness of the workers and against attempts to descend to the "average man" instead of bringing him up to the level of the vanguard.

Historical experience in the struggle for socialism indicates that the effectiveness of ideological work is determined by how profoundly the party's ideas have been mastered by the masses, whether they have become their convictions and thereby have a practical influence on their deeds and actions. This work fully achieves its aim when a unity of organizational, economic and ideological work has been achieved.

Experience teaches that ideological work should always be linked with the pertinent tasks and it must not lag behind life but rather concretely, profoundly and thoroughly approach the present problems. In accord with the entire spirit of Marxism-Leninism, it cannot be reduced merely to the explaining of various phenomena but rather should actively intervene into life and help in changing it.<sup>7</sup>

The party's ideological activities during the period of the establishment and strengthening of a socialist society were marked by a great diversity of the employed means and forms of influencing the awareness of the people. During these years, the main areas of ideological work were established and these were to become its basis in the subsequent stages of CPSU history. Among such directions we would put primarily the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the party's scientific generalization of the experience in building a new society and the forecasting of the prospects of social development. During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, V. I. Lenin and the party thoroughly elaborated a theory of socialist construction and concretized and developed under the new historical conditions a number of provisions in scientific communism, economic theory and Marxist philosophy. The party has given great importance to theoretical ideological activities at the present stage. In assessing this, Yu. V. Andropov pointed out that "only...an ongoing updating of revolutionary theory under the effect of revolutionary practice makes Marxism a real science and art of revolutionary creativity. This is the secret of the strength of Marxism-Leninism and its unfading freshness."<sup>8</sup>

The development of Marxist-Leninist teachings has always been considered by the party on the same footing as the struggle for its purity. In unmasking the attempts to revise revolutionary theory and disclosing the invalidity of bourgeois and any other antisocialist ideology in all their manifestations have been an essential feature in the party's ideological activities during the period of the construction of socialism and this has fully maintained its importance at present.

The dissemination of a communist ideology in the masses has become an important area of party ideological work. It must provide a thorough study and assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory, it must turn knowledge into convictions and specific actions by the masses as well as mobilize the masses to carry out party policy.

Important tasks in carrying out political indoctrination among the workers were assigned by the party, after it had become a ruling party, to the state bodies

in the area of public education and cultural indoctrination. Experience acquired during the years of socialist construction in party leadership over indoctrination in the secondary and higher schools and in various cultural and educational institutions is being fruitfully employed and considered under present-day conditions.

The party gained rich experience in ideological leadership of literature and art and these during the period of building a socialist society played an enormous role in shaping the spiritual make-up of the Soviet people.

The importance of the press rose greatly during the period of the establishing and strengthening of socialism. Its functions (in the definition of V. I. Lenin, the collective propagandist, agitator and organizer) began to be carried out on a broader scale than before. At the same time, such mass information media as the radio and information agencies began to be more widely employed. Their role has grown even stronger under present-day conditions when not only has the scope of the party's ideological activities grown broader and television has become popular but also the technical capabilities for utilizing the designated media have become greater.

Thus, the historical experience of ideological activities gained by the Leninist party during the period of the struggle for socialism has maintained its importance now. It helps in solving creative tasks in socialist construction and at the same time to unmask the intrigues of our ideological opponents and to unite the Soviet people and all progressive mankind in a struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Of course, the specific historical conditions in the present stage of socialist and communist construction differ from the conditions of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism as this was marked by an irreconcilable struggle between the overthrown but still not completely vanquished capitalism and the nascent, growing socialism. But much that was experience by the party during those years can be employed considering the new situation by the party organizations in ideological work at the present stage.

An exchange of articles and information on the pages of a journal, naturally, cannot encompass all aspects of this experience. Its study is a task for many research projects. A major contribution to studying the experience of ideological and political indoctrination could be made not only by co-workers from the central scientific institutions such as the IML [Marxism-Leninism Institute] and the AON [Social Sciences Academy] under the CPSU Central Committee but also by the higher party schools and other scientific research centers.

#### From the Experience of Political Indoctrination in Increasing the Social and Labor Activity of the Working Class During the Years of the First Five-Year Plan

L. I. Prokova. At the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out that there is one criterion for assessing the activities of the ideological cadres and this is "the level of political awareness and labor activity of the masses."<sup>9</sup> In this regard a study of the historical experience of the party acquired during the years of the First Five-Year

Plan in the political indoctrination of the working class and all workers and in increasing their labor and social activity is of important significance both in scientific and practical terms.<sup>10</sup>

V. I. Lenin emphasized that "alive and creative socialism is the creation of the masses of people themselves."<sup>11</sup> The party's political indoctrination during the years of the First Five-Year Plan was aimed primarily at activating the working class and all the working masses in carrying out Lenin's plan for the constructing of socialism. An important factor in carrying out this task was the socialist competition. Practice convincingly confirmed the conclusion of an inseparable link between the five-year plan and the socialist competition as drawn by the 16th Party Conference during the first months of developing the mass competition. The new relationships engendered by the historical creativity of the masses and scientifically based by the party among the working class--relations of labor rivalry and comradely mutual aid--operated as the most mass form of manifesting worker initiative, one of the most characteristic facets of the socialist way of life and a crucial factor in the socioeconomic and spiritual development of society along the lines of collectivism. A scientific study of these questions is particularly urgent considering the new tasks posed for social scientists by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

In setting down the indoctrinal essence of the socialist competition, V. I. Lenin pointed out that it encompasses not only the sphere of social production, but also includes broad opportunities for the all-round development of the individual and is a means for indoctrinating the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the workers. He wrote that the competition provides an opportunity to "actually involve a majority of the workers in an area of work where they can show themselves, develop their abilities and disclose talents which in the people is an inexhaustible spring and which capitalism has crushed, suppressed and stifled by thousands and millions."<sup>12</sup>

The publishing of Lenin's work "How Should the Competition Be Organized?" was of great indoctrinal and organizational importance for moving from groups and detachments of shockwork to a mass competition among the workers in 1929.

The ideas of Lenin were creatively developed in the party documents and above all in the Decree of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee "On the Socialist Competition of Factories and Plants" of 9 May 1929. This pointed out that the further and ever-broader development of the socialist competition at factories and plants, in mines and shops should become "one of the most important methods of socialist indoctrination for the proletariat and for involving the broadest working masses in economic management" and that on the basis of this there will be "the all-round development of the creative initiative of the masses, the involvement of the more backward strata of the workers in socialist construction and the advancement of the broadest cadres of new organizing forces from the ranks of the proletariat."<sup>13</sup>

The measures outlined by the party to further broaden and deepen the content and forms of the socialist competition were aimed at increasing its role as a school of labor and political activeness of the working class and a basic method for establishing a socialist ideology. In the competition, V. V. Kuybyshev

pointed out, is mirrored "a historic turning point in the psychology of the worker in the sense that he is becoming the master of his nation.... This is the best attack against petty bourgeois psychology..., and an unique front of the class struggle."<sup>14</sup>

The party made every effort so that the five-year plan became the chief instrument for realizing its socioeconomic policy and ensured the advance of socialism in the city and countryside and on the cultural front. On this question it steadily followed Lenin's demand for strengthening the effectiveness and specificity of propaganda and agitation as well as its tie with life and with carrying out economic and political tasks.

The party's political indoctrination in the area of developing the labor activeness of the working class was organized on the basis of the Leninist principles of the competition, that is, publicity, comparison of results and the possibility of repeating advanced procedures and work methods on a mass scale. The carrying out of the slogan "Bolsheviks Should Master Equipment!" raised by the party during the years of the First Five-Year Plan was inseparably linked to this work. As the socialist competition developed, the tie of indoctrinating the labor activeness of the workers with the movement to master new equipment grew stronger and the role of disseminating advanced experience grew.

All of this had an active influence on the genesis of the communist organization of labor which, V. I. Lenin pointed out, "will remain as long as it rests on the free and conscious discipline of the workers themselves who have thrown off the yoke of both the landowners and the capitalists."<sup>15</sup>

The struggle of the party for socialist discipline was a struggle against petty bourgeois ideas the proponents of which were predominantly the private ownership peasantry. This social stratum which at that time was being drawn into the kolkhozes and filling out the ranks of the working class on a mass scale inevitably brought an individualistic psychology into the labor collectives.

"The historical experience of real socialism," writes Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "shows that the turning of 'mine' and private ownership into 'hours' and the common is no easy matter. A change in property relationships in no way comes down to a single act as a result of which the basic means of production become public property. To obtain the right of the master and to become a master who is effective, wise and thrifty are far from being the same thing. The people who had carried out a socialist revolution for a long time still had to assimilate their new status as the supreme and unchallenged owner of all public wealth. This had to be assimilated both economically and politically or, if you like, psychologically, in developing a collectivist awareness and conduct."<sup>16</sup>

The party's historical experience shows that an increased labor and social activeness of the working class is inseparably tied to indoctrinating in each worker a desire and ability to utilize the means of production which have become national property in a rational and economic manner. During the years of the first five-year plans this largely determined both the development of new construction projects in industry, the mastering of new equipment, the economic and organizational strengthening of the kolkhozes, the reorganization of everyday life, public amenities in the cities and many other questions which at that time began to be resolved under party leadership.

Indoctrinating a feeling of being the master of all social wealth and a thrifty attitude toward socialist property in the workers and kolkhoz peasantry, explaining the great social victory of eliminating unemployment in our nation and instilling a feeling of social optimism and a confidence in tomorrow--all of this was characteristic of the First Five-Year Plan and contributed to its fulfillment.

Also instructive is the experience gained during the period of the five-year plan in struggling to strengthen labor discipline. In considering that at that time all the further development of socialist industrialization and the fulfillment of the quotas of the First Five-Year Plan depended upon solving this question, the party Central Committee felt it necessary to send a special letter to all the party organizations "On Raising Labor Discipline" (February 1929). This emphasized that the political work of the party organizations would be judged primarily from what results were achieved in improving labor discipline and increasing labor productivity at the enterprises, in eradicating absences without leave and involving the workers in the struggle for socialist labor discipline.<sup>17</sup>

As a result of establishing a closer tie and interaction between the ideological, organizational, economic and political work of the party organizations, by the end of the five-year plan the socialist competition involved almost three-quarters of the workers and a significant portion of the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia. This fact played a primary role in the early fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan. The January (1933) Joint Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission emphasized: "the party has achieved a victorious conclusion of the five-year plan on the basis of a constant rise in the creative activeness and production initiative of the broad masses, on the basis of involving an ever-larger number of workers and kolkhoz members in the ranks of the shockworkers of socialist construction and on the basis of a developed socialist competition."<sup>18</sup>

The increased effectiveness of ideological indoctrination was largely aided by its activation in the labor collectives and this was already noticeable at the end of the 1920's. But this work was particularly developed precisely during the years of the First Five-Year Plan and this made a substantial contribution to carrying out the five-year plan. The implementing of the slogan advanced by the party for turning all public organizations "to face production" was aided by a series of decrees of the VKP(b) Central Committee: "On Mass Work at Enterprises" (1927), "On Party Work at Large Enterprises" (1927), "On Party and Mass Work in the Shop and Brigade" (1931), "Regulation on the VKP(b) Cell on Kolkhozes" (1931) and others.<sup>19</sup>

A study of the experience of political indoctrination during the years of the First Five-Year Plan is instructive in many regards. Of great interest is the work carried out by the party organizations in indoctrinating the workers in a spirit of revolutionary vigilance against the intrigues of internal and external enemies. The strengthening of the class focus in indoctrination in the masses during that period was dictated by the conditions of the heightened class struggle in the nation in line with the developed offensive by socialism along the entire front and the elimination of the kulakry as a class. The struggle against the various manifestations of hostile ideology assumed numerous forms and was conducted broadly by all means of oral and printed agitation. This

helped to isolate the class enemies, to overcome a conciliatory attitude toward them by certain insufficiently politically developed strata in the population, particularly in the countryside, to eliminate the last vestiges of the exploiting classes, and to resolve the question of "who wins over whom" in favor of socialism.

In the treasurehouse of the historical experience of the party's ideological activities, there are many other valuable materials for the researchers. Thus, at the end of the 1920's, the party continued to develop a comprehensive approach in the area of ideological indoctrination. The decisions of the 15th Party Conference, for example, speak of the need to strengthen attention to communist indoctrination, including general political, cultural and production.<sup>20</sup> Many areas of party ideological activities set out in the years of the First Five-Year Plan underwent further development later. In reflecting the specific features of those times, these activities naturally were not free of shortcomings and unsuccessful initiatives. This was due to the enormous difficulties of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. At the same time, this is experience which has no analog in history. Its generalization is inestimable from the viewpoint of the further scientific elaboration of the questions of the party's ideological and political indoctrination activities.

#### Generalizing and Using the Advanced Experience of Party Propaganda in the Course of Socialist Construction

S. A. Andronov. At the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed to the need of altering the style of work in political studies and putting an end to the formalism existing here and to the mechanical rote learning of various general principles which is far removed from life.<sup>21</sup> In light of the tasks posed, it is particularly timely to examine how the party study system has been established and developed and to generalize the experience gained here.

By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the party had gained great experience in the ideological indoctrination of the communists and nonparty persons in a close link to the practice of socialist construction. This experience merits generalization and a thorough analysis considering the specific features of the designated period. However, the problem has not gained sufficient examination in our literature. It has not been shown with the necessary soundness that the party elaborated precise, well-organized methods of party study, both regular and correspondence, in organized forms and by self-education. A system for training propagandists was developed. The party organizations strengthened the specific leadership over ideological indoctrination. The Leninist principles of party propaganda including scientificness, party loyalty and a tie with the masses, were introduced everywhere.

The experience gained in previous years in a differentiated approach to the organization of party education and in particular studies on the three levels, depending upon the training of the students, underwent a broad practical testing.

The primary level was the most mass form of party education. Here studies were carried out in the primary party schools and political literacy circles. These included communists and nonparty persons who had not previously been involved in

organized forms of party education. Here they studied the experience gained by the Soviet people and by the party in the struggle to build socialism and the international significance of this historic feat by the Soviet people was pointed out. The candidate party members and groups of sympathizers in the circles studied the Party Program and its Bylaws as well as the basic questions of party history, socialist construction and the international policy of the VKP(b). The exercises were carried out considering the specific conditions of production work during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the network of the primary level of party education in the countryside, along with the party and government decisions they also studied the decisions of the Second All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Shockworkers and materials related to carrying out the tasks of the ideological indoctrination of kolkhoz members and the organizational and economic strengthening of the kolkhozes. Work was done separately with the individual communists working in collectives where there were no party organizations and groups. These met for 2 or 3 days at the rayon center for working on the most important problems and they received consultation and were given quotas for independent studies.

During the years of the Second Five-Year Plan, the involvement of communists in the middle level of party education was broadened. This included theoretical seminars and special circles on current policy. On this level the evening soviet-party schools were the basic form of Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of the party, soviet and Komsomol personnel. Beginning in 1936 these were converted into party schools (evening ones).

As the educational level and political training of the cadres grew during the Second Five-Year Plan, there was a process of increasing the number of those studying in the higher level of party education. The rayon aktiv and the party committee workers studied in evening 2-year communist universities, at evening courses of Marxism-Leninism, in the evening communist VUZes of cell secretaries as well as in various forms of correspondence studies. Also widespread were the 5-10-day courses organized for the aktiv.

One of the most mass forms of education was the evening communist universities where they more profoundly studied the sociopolitical and general educational disciplines.

The VKP(b) Central Committee was constantly concerned with improving the correspondence party education. The Decree of the Central Committee "On the Work of the Institute for Mass Correspondence Education of the Party Aktiv under the VKP(b) Central Committee" (1933) pointed to the necessity of giving more attention to correspondence studies, this important form for the Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres.<sup>22</sup> The mastery of theoretical knowledge by self-education also was widespread. In the Decree "On Improving the Question of Self-Education" (1933) the Central Committee pointed out that "self-education under the present-day conditions is assuming particularly important significance due to its flexibility and the capacity to cover the most diverse strata and the broadest masses."<sup>23</sup>

On the basis of the Decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee "On Preparations for Developing Marxist-Leninist Studies"<sup>24</sup> the party organizations ensured the

printing of procedural aids for various groups of students. Educational materials were regularly prepared by the Moscow and Leningrad gorkoms, by the Cultural and Educational Department of the VKP(b) Obkom in the Central Chernozem Oblast, by the Middle Volga Kraykom of the VKP(b) Central Committee, by the party office of the Northern VKP(b) Kraykom and others.

After the 17th Party Congress, the publishing of the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, the party decisions, aids and collections of directive and educational materials was broadened to help the propagandists on the various political education levels. Along with documents, these publish materials on generalizing the experience of the party offices, schools and circles, the selection of propaganda personnel and so forth.

The Department of Party Propaganda and Agitation under the VKP(b) Central Committee increased the help to those studying Marxist-Leninist theory. Conferences were organized for exchanging experience in propaganda work and a special bulletin was published by the Department for Party Propaganda and Agitation under the VKP(b) Central Committee "V pomoshch' partiynoy uchebe" [To Help Party Studies]. Materials from it were reprinted in local newspapers and appeared as separate collections in local areas.

In organizing party education in the national republics, the autonomous oblasts and okrugs, consideration was given to the fact that the virtually complete illiteracy of the population was a harsh heritage of tsarism. Political exercises were organized in accord with the literacy level. The basic mass of students studied in the primary level.

In the course of party studies, the link of theoretical materials was strengthened with the production tasks and with the experience of the Stakhanovite movement which arose in the middle of the Second Five-Year Plan. Patriotic and international indoctrination was organically combined. This work developed particularly broadly in line with the convening of the Seventh Comintern Congress.

Thus, as a result of generalizing the advanced experience of propaganda during the concluding stage of the transitional period, party education was enriched by new forms and methods and this helped to further increase the ideological militancy of the communists and to increase their vanguard role in the struggle to build socialism. Undoubtedly, a study of how the advanced experience of party propaganda was generalized and employed during this and subsequent periods would contribute as a whole to deepening the scientific study of the party's historical experience in ideological and political indoctrination.

#### From the Experience of Military Patriotic Indoctrination During the Transitional Period

A. S. Smol'nikov. One of the most important tasks in the party's ideological work during the transitional period was the indoctrination of a fundamentally new attitude on the part of the workers to the fatherland won by them as a result of the victory of a socialist revolution. A study of this question in light of the tasks of generalizing the historical experience of the party's ideological activities is undoubtedly of interest for the researchers, particularly at present, considering the fact that the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU

Central Committee pointed to the need of further improving military-patriotic indoctrination. However, this subject has not been properly taken up in the historical literature.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time, the historical role of V. I. Lenin has been studied rather soundly. Lenin disclosed to the working masses the essence of the idea of the armed defense of the socialist fatherland and pointed to its fundamental distinction from the false "patriotic slogans" by which the bourgeoisie forced the workers and peasants to fight for alien interests.

Lenin's ideas have armed the party with a precise program of practical actions in the area of military policy, military agitation and propaganda among the broad working masses under conditions where it was essential "to fight the bourgeoisie militarily and even more ideologically."<sup>26</sup>

Under these conditions, a primary task for the party was to further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to increase the activeness of the working class. V. I. Lenin felt that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an essential and sufficient condition for its strength.<sup>27</sup>

Fundamentally new in theoretical and practical terms was the thesis of V. I. Lenin that the defense of the victories of the proletarian revolution in the country which had been the first to break the front of imperialism by its example would help to develop the world liberation movement. To be an internationalist, he wrote, means to do "the maximum feasible in one country for developing, supporting and encouraging the revolution in all countries."<sup>28</sup> For this reason, the workers, showing heroism in defending the Soviet republic, should clearly recognize that they were carrying out not only a national mission but also an international one, in strengthening the bulwark of the world proletariat and all suppressed peoples in their liberation struggle.

Here it is essential to point out that the Soviet nation from the moment of its founding unwaveringly conducted a policy of peace, friendship and good neighborliness with all states. The first decree of Soviet power was Lenin's Peace Decree. This major political document at the same time was a strong means of agitation and propaganda and vivid proof of the peace-loving policy of the worker and peasant state. It determined the peace-loving line of the Communist Party in international relations for many years to come.

This historic document has maintained its validity at present, under the conditions where American imperialism has created a serious threat to peace. "The Soviet leadership," states the Declaration of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov, "is not confronted with the question of what line is to be followed in international affairs in the current acute situation. Our course as before is aimed at the preservation and strengthening of peace, at a lessening of tension, at checking the arms race and at broadening and deepening collaboration between states." However, good will, the desire to come to terms and not act using military strength should not be seen as a sign of weakness. "To any attempt to shatter the existing military-strategic balance," the declaration stated, "the Soviet Union will be able to give the proper response and its words will not differ from the deed."<sup>29</sup>

Historical experience also shows this with sufficient convincingness. In history there already was a similar period, and this was the very first years of Soviet power, when the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence carried out by the party encountered resistance from international imperialism. At that time, American imperialists were not in last place among the opponents of peace. In possessing an enormous military-economic potential which surpassed the capabilities of the Soviet state by many times, international imperialism in settling the questions of war and peace evidenced outright aggressiveness.

Under these conditions, V. I. Lenin explained the need for a most serious attitude toward the question of national defense and for protecting the freedom, civil and social rights won by the workers as a result of the revolution. "As much as we desire to begin peaceful construction as rapidly as possible and as widely as we can," said V. I. Lenin in speaking to workers in 1920, "the war has shown us that we must subordinate everything to the interests of this war for achieving the most successful and rapid results for us."<sup>30</sup>

The Civil War in the USSR was the first war in history in defense of a socialist fatherland which had begun to carry out socialist construction on the ideological bases of Marxism-Leninism. The political aims of the defensive war required the use of new methods and procedures not only of an armed struggle but also an ideological one as well as the corresponding methods of political leadership. The main role of politics and its close relationship to strategy were concretely embodied in the unity of the political and military leadership carried out by the Communist Party. The victory of Soviet Russia over the interventionists and White Guards, pointed out V. I. Lenin was a victory of the most advanced socialist state system, of the alliance of the workers and peasants with the leading role of the working class, of the military-political unity of the peoples of the Soviet nation and their army as well as a victory of the ideology and policy of the Communist Party.

The growth and strengthening of the party cells, the establishing and functioning of the party-political apparatus in the Red Army units were the determining factor for increasing its combat capability and for instilling revolutionary patriotism and wholehearted dedication to the socialist fatherland in the soldiers. Here a major role was played by the institution of military commissars who became the basic organizers of political indoctrination in the troop personnel.

The maintaining of high troop morale and the necessity of political preparation for combat operations were a matter of constant concern for the party. Prior to combat, communists were sent out to the most crucial sections. The political work of a commissar or rank-and-file communist among the Red Armymen started with his personal conduct both in battle and in periods of relative quiet. The high political awareness of the men of the Red Army and their ideological conviction lay at the basis of the mass heroism during the years of the Civil War.

The RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee, in order to provide the army with ideological workers, used party mobilizations. A system of courses was established for the planned training of agitators and fighters on the cultural front. During the entire Civil War, the political education of

the Red Armymen was a matter of particular concern for the party organizations and political bodies. Ideological and political work among the peasantry required special attention.

The group reading of newspapers, pamphlets and magazines was the most widespread form of political study for the Red Armymen. The platoon readers had the duty each year of reading newspapers and political pamphlets to the Red Armymen, explaining the summaries from the front to them as well as giving information on the revolutionary movement abroad and other political questions.<sup>31</sup> With the illiteracy and poor literacy of a significant portion of the Red Armymen, such a form of acquainting the men with the questions of domestic and international life was effective.

The party gave great importance to propagandizing military knowledge. With the adoption of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] on 22 April 1918 of the decree governing universal military training for the workers (Vsevobuch)<sup>32</sup> the propagandizing of military knowledge became systematic and planned. Over the years of the Civil War alone the Main Directorate for Vsevobuch published and issued to the population around 9 million copies of agitation and training literature.<sup>33</sup> Vsevobuch played a major role in training the workers and peasants for the armed defense of the victories of the socialist revolution. More than 5 million workers and peasants passed through it during the Civil War years.<sup>34</sup> It became one of the essential reserves of recruits for the Red Army.

Nonparty conferences were held everywhere. At them the floor, as a rule, was given over to well trained reporters who spoke on various problems of Soviet construction and which were of concern to the workers, soldiers and peasants. Recommended for this job were those workers "who on questions of reality do not voice excessive official optimism and who seriously and frankly have noted the existing shortcomings, who would explain them and point to a way out."<sup>35</sup> In assessing the importance of the nonparty conferences, Lenin wrote that they helped the party "follow the mood of the masses, draw closer to them and respond to their needs...."<sup>36</sup>

A specific form during the Civil War period of mass political work both in the rear and on the front were the trips by agitation trains and steamers which had the job of strengthening the party's ties with the masses in the most remote corners of the republic. Their appearance was caused by the nature of military operations during the first period of the war, when the troops "were waging an echeloned war,...fighting only along the railroads, as they did not have transport or means of communications."<sup>37</sup> Subsequently, practice showed the great effectiveness of this form of work among the population. During the agitation trips, meetings were held, lectures were given, the Soviet institutions and party organizations were examined, statements and complaints from the workers were received, newspapers and leaflets were disseminated and the viewing of movies and concerts was organized.

The agitation points played a prominent role in developing mass agitation work among the personnel of the troop units and the population. The experience of their activities has become part of the means of mass political work used by the Communist Party subsequently. The agitation points were established upon a decision of the Defense Council of 13 May 1919 at the major junctions of rail and water transport, as well as the quarters and loading areas of the troops.<sup>38</sup>

Each time when a mortal danger hung over the Soviet republic, the RKP(b) Central Committee made a wide practice of holding agitation "days" and "weeks" in the aim of regular and emergency mobilizations of the workers to rebuff the enemy. As a total during the period of the Civil War more than 35 such agitation campaigns were carried out on an all-Russian and local scale.<sup>39</sup>

The experience of political indoctrination in the army and among the public during the Civil War years was used by the party during various periods of socialist construction. The increased military danger in the 1930's required an improvement in mass defense work. During this period the lectures and reports among the population emphasized that the greatest danger for the socialist nation came from fascism with the need stressed of the military defense of the motherland and the propagandizing of Lenin's teachings on just and unjust wars. Effective forms of mass defense and military-patriotic indoctrination were the political measures conducted by the party, soviet and Komsomol organizations under the slogan "Ready for Labor and Defense" as well as the weeks and 10 days of defense which, in the apt expression of K. Ye. Voroshilov, became weeks "of the spiritual mobilization of the masses" to strengthen the nation's defense capability.<sup>40</sup> In the course of these measures, exercises were conducted on studying firearms, first aid, military games were organized, excursions were held to the heroic sites of combat glory from the Civil War times and so forth.

In the second half of the 1930's, the competition of the cities and oblasts of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the other Union republics for the best organization of mass defense work became widespread.

The success in political indoctrination depended largely upon the composition of the agitators and propagandists and upon their preparedness to carry out new tasks. The party gorkoms and raykoms organized circles and instructional meetings for them, they established procedural schools and seminars and held colloquiums, theoretical conferences and meetings to exchange experience.

The ideas of V. I. Lenin on the armed defense of the Soviet Nation and on the need to establish and strengthen an army of the worker and peasant state played a crucial role in the military-patriotic indoctrination of the workers during the years of the Great Patriotic War, when a maximum mobilization of all the material and spiritual forces was required of the Soviet people; these ideas were one of the most important factors ensuring the victory over Nazi Germany.

**From the Experience of Party Political Indoctrination in the Postwar Period (1946-1950).** In the party history literature up to the present, there has been no generalizing work on the party's ideological activities during the years of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. In a majority of the books and pamphlets, these activities are viewed either as a part of the party's work to rebuild and develop the national economy in 1946-1950<sup>41</sup> or as a part of one of the forms of ideological work over the entire period of Soviet power.<sup>42</sup> There long has been a need to create a work in which all the areas of party ideological work during the years of the Fourth Five-Year Plan would be examined as a single whole: theoretical-ideological activities, political indoctrination, and leadership over the work of the educational-cultural institutions, the mass information

and propaganda bodies as well as the development of science, literature and art. The writing of such a work would contribute to the further, more profound study of historical experience in the ideological activities of the CPSU and to the carrying out of the most important practical tasks posed for the party organizations by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The designated period was a special period in the ideological activities of our party. The resumption of peacetime socialist construction was carried out under difficult conditions. The war had caused enormous sacrifices and destruction. The triumph of the great victory was tinged by the sadness of the losses. The material damage caused by the war was enormous. It was 679 billion rubles (in 1941 prices). The nation had lost a third of its national wealth. There was an acute lack of food, vital necessities and housing.

The party and the nation were confronted with difficult tasks necessitating the mobilizing of all the forces of the people and the carrying out of a new feat, now on the labor front. The surmounting of the difficulties in reconstruction required the creative and unstinting labor of the workers, peasantry and intelligentsia as well as their active involvement in carrying out party policy. The factor of the steadfastness of the Soviet man indoctrinated in the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism was now to make itself fully felt. Under these conditions, the successful solving of the economic, political, cultural-indoctrinational problems of the postwar times depended largely on the organizing and carrying out of ideological work.

The party's attention to the ideological sphere, along with other factors, could also be explained by the fact that after the war not all the party organizations were able to reorganize their work, to correctly combine party political and economic activities and they often forgot that the party bodies were entrusted with the task of the ideological and political leadership of the state, economic and social organizations. The Central Committee decisions aimed at rectifying these shortcomings and at the ideological and organizational strengthening of the party helped to increase its leading and guiding role in the life of Soviet society.

In the political indoctrination during the postwar period, the party widely employed the rich experience of the political indoctrination of the workers gained in previous years and continued to improve the forms and methods of the ideological influence on the masses.

All the means of ideological work were focused on carrying out the major task of the postwar period, the rebuilding of the national economy, and these included: party education, mass propaganda and agitation and the work of the cultural and educational institutions. The party made every effort for the political indoctrination to contribute to the carrying out of this task.

Party activities in this area were marked by great purposefulness and effectiveness. The party saw to it that the law adopted in March 1946 on the five-year plan for the reconstruction and development of the Soviet national economy (1946-1950) became known to each Soviet person and that each Soviet citizen had a clear idea of the development prospects of Soviet society, was aware that his personal contribution and his daily labor would determine the successful solving

of the problems confronting the nation. He knew for what purpose he was making sacrifices, he was able to steadfastly endure the difficulties and surmount them and was confident of success.

The Decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee "On Agitation and Propaganda Work by Party Organizations in Relation to the Adoption of the Law on the Five-Year Plan for the Reconstruction and Development of the Soviet National Economy in 1946-1950" emphasized that the work of each party organization would be judged from what successes were achieved in carrying out the tasks of the five-year plan and in fulfilling and overfulfilling the current economic plans.<sup>43</sup>

The Administration for Propaganda and Agitation under the VKP(b) Central Committee sent out to the republics, krays and oblasts propaganda groups which were made up of skilled lecturers, VUZ instructors and scientific workers in the aim of explaining the law on the five-year plan. Everywhere meetings were held of the party aktivs and primary party organizations as well as general worker meetings devoted to the five-year plan. Its content was studied in the party education system, the VUZes and technical schools and was taken up in lectures and talks. The newspapers and magazines systematically published articles and materials on the basic sections of the plan and told about the course of the socialist competition for its fulfillment and overfulfillment.

During the first postwar years, the VKP(b) Central Committee adopted a series of decrees pointing to the need to strengthen mass political work among the industrial workers as the leading national economic sector. Work was initiated by tens of thousands of agitators at the plants, factories and mines. In meetings and talks they acquainted the workers with the basic provisions of the law governing the five-year plan and related tasks for the enterprise collectives and propagandized the experience of the struggle to increase labor productivity and the accomplishments of innovators. They actively involved the workers in the socialist competition for the early fulfillment of the five-year plan and endeavored to make this competition public and visible so that each worker collective knew its pacesetters and followed their example. In order to make agitation more effective, the party organizations endeavored to more closely link the common problems of national development and its national economy with the specific tasks of the enterprise or construction project.

Due to the effective mass political work initiated by the party organizations, the labor activeness of the working class constantly increased and it unstintingly rebuilt and developed the nation's industry.

The agitators at the industrial enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes by their personal example and by the means of ideological influence helped the party organizations in indoctrinating the workers, particularly the young ones, in a socialist attitude toward labor and public property and they helped strengthen labor discipline, fight against laxness and disorganization, disclose additional reserves and possibilities and ensure the fulfillment of the adopted obligations by all workers and kolkhoz members. The Soviet workers and above all the youth underwent great schooling in political, labor and moral indoctrination in the struggle to rebuild and develop the national economy after the war and in the course of the socialist competition for the early fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Along with explaining domestic policy, in agitation and propaganda work a significant place was held by the explaining of the foreign policy activities of the party and Soviet state aimed at strengthening peace and improving the international status of the USSR and the commonwealth of nations in the socialist system.

The widely developed agitation and political education armed the workers with the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and a clear understanding of the goals and tasks of party activities and they helped to shape the ideological conviction of the Soviet people. All these activities, along with the work in the area of patriotic and international indoctrination, atheistic propaganda and the combating of manifestations of bourgeois ideology and vestiges of the past in the conscience and conduct of a portion of the Soviet people helped to shape an advanced Marxist-Leninist ideology among the workers.

Such an all-round approach to the indoctrination of the Soviet man helped in successfully carrying out the economic, sociopolitical and cultural tasks confronting the party and the nation in those years.

In solving the problems of postwar development, the party gave a major role to the press and primarily the newspapers. PRAVDA was an example for all the press. It conducted active propaganda of the tasks of the postwar five-year plan and widely treated the course of reconstruction work. From its pages rang the peals "All Forces into Fulfilling and Overfulfilling the New Five-Year Plan!", "More Quickly Heal the Wounds Caused by the War!" and "Let Us More Quickly Rebuild the Destroyed Cities!" The basic areas of postwar national development were taken up in such articles as "A Great and Glorious Program for the New Flourishing of Our Motherland," "An Uptick in Metallurgy--One of the Basic Tasks of the New Five-Year Plan," "The New Five-Year Plan--A Cause of All the People" and others. PRAVDA acquainted the readers with the five-year plans of the Union republics, the scale of new construction and the scope of the great creative work of the Soviet people.

In continuing the traditions of the war years, PRAVDA sent out its own traveling editorial personnel to the most important shock construction project. PRAVDA NA DNEPROSTROYE was the name of the newspaper published in 1945 in Zaporozhye by the traveling editorial staff which had been set up upon a decision of the VKP(b) Central Committee. For 218 days, the PRAVDA workers here prepared 200 issues of the newspaper as well as numerous posters, pamphlets and notices.

In the summer and autumn of 1946, the traveling editorial staffs of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA worked at the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant, the Kolomna Steam Locomotive Building Plant, in Stalingrad as well as Chelyabinsk and Kurgan Oblasts. That exceptionally great attention which the party Central Committee gave to the local press in the postwar years resulted in a significant rise in the level of the republic, kray, oblast and rayon newspapers and in their contribution to carrying out the tasks of economic and cultural construction. In propagandizing the five-year plan, the newspapers acted as the militant organizers of the masses in carrying it out.

The party organizations gave great importance to the effectiveness of the critical comments in the press. In the spring of 1947, the Central Committee of the Latvian KP(b) [Communist Party (Bolshevik)] discussed the question "on the response to materials published in the newspapers." It was pointed out that the effectiveness of the critical materials published both in the republic and district press was not sufficient. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Latvian KP(b) obliged the leaders of the ministries, departments and enterprises, the secretaries of the party district committees and the chairmen of the district executive committees to personally check the critical materials published in the press and within 10 days, as the Soviet laws required, to reply to the newspaper editors on the essence of their alerts.

The party committees and primary party organizations were instructed to raise for discussion the alerts appearing in the press and to take the necessary actions on them.<sup>44</sup>

The party linked the fulfilling of the role of a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer by the newspapers not only to the quality of the published materials but also to the degree of their closeness to the masses. On this level the VKP(b) Central Committee drew particular attention to how the newspaper editorial personnel handled letters from workers. In one of its decrees of those years the VKP(b) Central Committee emphasized that "without serious and systematic work with worker letters and a careful and willing attitude toward them a newspaper cannot successfully carry out the tasks confronting it."<sup>45</sup>

In working to ensure the early fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan for the reconstruction and development of the Soviet national economy, the newspaper and radio editors widely described the course of the socialist competition for its fulfillment and overfulfillment, they told about the pacesetters of economic and cultural construction and about the best production collectives, they propagandized their experience and work methods and acquainted the workers with recent scientific and technical achievements. In this manner they made an enormous contribution to carrying out the national economic tasks and to the communist indoctrination of the workers.

In explaining to the masses the need for an accelerated pace of rebuilding the national economy, the party considered the tense international situation and the increased aggressiveness by the main imperialist powers directed against the USSR and the People's Democracies. During these years, the icy winds of the Cold War unleashed by the U.S. and English imperialists were blowing through the world.

After the war, there was a significant strengthening in the struggle against various manifestations against bourgeois ideology, ideological subversion by imperialism and against the anti-Soviet attitudes which bourgeois nationalists endeavored to implant during the first postwar years in the republics of the Baltic, the western oblasts of the Ukraine and Belorussia and right-bank Moldavia. Hostile activities in these areas were supported and directed by emigre organizations abroad, by intelligence bodies of the capitalist states and by various anti-Soviet organizations in Western Europe and overseas.

Under these conditions ideological work was aimed at unmasking bourgeois nationalistic propaganda and eliminating its consequences. The public was explained the importance of the great accomplishments of the Soviet people inspired by the ideals of communism and the advantages of socialism over capitalism were pointed out. Widely propagandized were the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the party policy of friendship and cooperation among peoples.

With the broadening of the ties of the Soviet Union with foreign countries during the war and after it, the danger of the penetration of bourgeois views among the Soviet people increased. However, the party dealt a decisive rebuff to alien ideas. The invalidity of cosmopolitanism was shown and its influence was apparent in the objectivist tendencies in social sciences, in apoliticalness and an uncritical attitude toward bourgeois Western culture. The ideas of nationalism were debunked and, in particular, these had been reflected in the antiscientific theory of a "single flow" in accord with which the history of peoples in the past was viewed outside of the class struggle.

A study of all these questions has assumed particular importance in line with the comment by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the "Clash of Unprecedented Intensity and Acuteness Over the Entire Postwar Period of the Two Polar Ideologies, the Two Political Courses--Socialism and Imperialism."<sup>46</sup>

In the party's ideological work, a major place was held by indoctrinating the masses in a spirit of Soviet, socialist patriotism and pride for one's fatherland and one's people. With the formation of the world socialist system, Soviet patriotism acquired new traits of dedication and loyalty to the entire commonwealth of socialist nations.

In the postwar years, the party had to struggle against manifestations of nationalism in certain scientific and literary works. Mistakes of a bourgeois nationalistic character were expressed in the extolling of the uniqueness of the historical development of one or another people comprising the USSR, its exclusiveness or the particular path of forming its spiritual culture.

The congresses, conferences and central committee plenums of the Union republic communist parties held during those years decisively condemned manifestations of nationalism and pseudodemocracy which also occurred in individual works of literature and art and harmed the development of national literature and separated it from progressive Russian and world culture. The party called for the creation of vivid, artistically vivid works primarily about modern times, about the Soviet man with his high ideological and moral qualities, works which instilled in the Soviet people a spirit of the ideals of communism and increased their labor and social activeness.

The propaganda, mass agitation and cultural-educational work widely undertaken by the party organizations, the activities of the mass information organs led by the party as well as the achievements of science, literature and art in the unique and difficult postwar situation played an enormous role in mobilizing the masses to eliminate the consequences of the war and in the communist indoctrination of the workers. The very rapid rebuilding of the war-devastated national economy became a feat of all the people, as was pointed out by M. V. Zimyanin in the report "A Party of Revolutionary Action."<sup>47</sup>

During the postwar years, the party gained rich and valuable experience in the area of ideological indoctrination. Much of this experience has undergone the test of time, it has entered into the arsenal of CPSU ideological work and merits further, more profound study.

**From the Experience of Ensuring the Unity of Political-Indoctrination, Organizational and Economic Activities**

Ye. F. Agafonov. The 1950's are of significant interest on the level of studying the historical experience of party ideological activities in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress<sup>48</sup> and the June (1983) Plenum of the Party Central Committee<sup>49</sup> which pointed to the need to achieve a close unity in ideological-theoretical, political indoctrinal, organizational and economic activities. In accord with the specific tasks of socialist construction, during these years the party endeavored to maximally strengthen the tie of mass political and agitation work with life, to increase its effectiveness and to direct it totally into further raising the initiative of the workers.

The basic content in the agitation-propaganda and organizational work in the masses during these years was determined by the decisions of the 19th, 20th and 21st CPSU Congresses, by the decrees of the Central Committee plenums as well as by such important political events as the elections to the soviets and the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In line with the steady growth in the political and cultural level of the public and its needs, greater demands have been placed on all ideological and political indoctrination and its scientific soundness. The growing interest of the workers in theoretical questions arising in the course of socialist construction obliged ideological workers to more organically link the explanation of current tasks with the general prospects of the ongoing development of the Soviet nation.

In the ideological and political indoctrination, particularly after the 20th CPSU Congress, a major place was held by questions related to disclosing the growing role of the party as the guiding force of Soviet society and its policy of strengthening collective leadership and socialist legality, law and order. Proceeding from the Marxist thesis on the decisive role of the masses of people in history, the anti-Marxist essence and political harmfulness of the cult of personality were disclosed. The party, as M. V. Zimyanin opointed out, "was able in a Leninist manner to boldly and frankly admit the mistakes, to disclose and eliminate the factors which gave rise to them and raise the workers to carry out new tasks."<sup>50</sup>

In increasing the level of agitation work, the party organizations steadily followed the instructions of V. I. Lenin that "each agitator should be a state leader, a leader of all the peasants and workers in the question of economic construction."<sup>51</sup> The questions stemming from the national economic plans concerning the development of socialist industry, the increasing of agriculture, the accelerating of scientific and technical progress, the rational placement of the productive forces, the broadening of specialization and cooperation, the development of the socialist competition and many others were at the center of attention of the ideological cadres.

The September (1953) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which outlined a broad program of agricultural development focused particular attention on strengthening the ties of mass agitation work in the countryside with everyday life. During this period on many kolkhozes mass political work at times had a mere informative nature and did not sufficiently contribute to the political indoctrination of the workers. There was also such a major shortcoming in it as its divorcing from agricultural production and in particular from the questions of utilizing equipment and the organization of labor. The Central Committee plenum obliged the party bodies to significantly strengthen leadership over the mass political work in the countryside, relying here on the leading workers, the masters of farming and livestock raising, and to widely develop a socialist competition to carry out the tasks of further developing all sectors of socialist agriculture. The party organizations were given the task of improving the activities of the rural cultural and educational institutions, revitalizing the work of the clubs and libraries, organizing the regular showing of films, strengthen radio wire broadcasting in the villages and also improve the quality of broadcasting. It was essential to link the work in the masses with the specific agricultural tasks, to put an end to the underestimating of agricultural propaganda and to intensely introduce advanced experience. Particular attention was paid to the importance of explaining the principles of correctly combining the public and the private in the artel with the subordinating of private interests to the public.

In accord with the instructions of the party Central Committee, in the countryside the mass political work of the party organizations began to be carried out chiefly in the brigades, at the field camps, on the threshing floors and procurement points. The party organizations assigned agitators from among the communists, Komsomol members, leading kolkhoz members and the rural intelligentsia to the field and tractor brigades and to each threshing unit. Work was initiated everywhere to strengthen the link of agitation and propaganda with the tasks of economic and cultural construction. As a result of this production activities were significantly improved at the enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and MTS [machine-tractor station], advanced experience was more widely disclosed, disseminated and introduced and labor productivity increased.<sup>52</sup>

In organizing the extensive propagandizing and disseminating of advanced experience, the party organizations employed diverse forms and means including: excursions to leading enterprises and kolkhozes in the rayon and oblast, collective visits to the all-Union and oblast agricultural exhibits, the sending of production innovators to the lagging farms for providing help, the holding of seminars for the farm chairmen, the secretaries of the party organizations and the farm leaders on the basis of the best kolkhozes. The ideological cadres endeavored to make the broadest masses of workers and kolkhoz members aware of advanced experience and they saw to it that each worker mastered this experience. Here an important role was played by the individual talk, personal example and visual demonstration of advanced labor methods.

The strengthening of mass agitation work in the production sphere and the bringing of it closer to life disclosed also a number of weaknesses in this work and to which little attention had been paid previously. Mass political work in the countryside had been more poorly organized than in the cities. The leading party workers and propagandists rarely visited the remote kolkhozes

and sovkhozes and most frequently they spoke to the urban rayon aktiv. Little attention was paid to the methods of mass political work.<sup>53</sup>

The broad scope of the problems which ideological work dealt with in the 1950's and the necessity of explaining diverse and complex questions related to the development of Soviet society, its economy and culture increased the demands on the ideological cadres. The listeners could only be satisfied by a person who possessed a broad political viewpoint, who was well informed on major events and who was capable of knowledgeably discussing with the listeners the acute problems of concern to them. For this reason, the party organizations began to more widely and energetically involve the leading party, soviet and economic workers as well as specialists in the work among the masses. The involvement of the leading cadres in mass political work linked the carrying out of economic tasks and organizational-technical measures with an explanation of their political significance and with indoctrinating a conscious attitude toward labor and public property.

The agitation collectives of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes began to receive better recruits. Agricultural specialists from among those who were sent there after the September (1953) Central Committee Plenum were involved in agitation work. Thus, the Moscow Oblast Party Organization in 1954 sent more than 2,000 engineers and technicians to leading jobs in the MTS.<sup>54</sup> The same thing was done by party organizations in other oblasts. This helped increase the level of the agitation and propaganda among the rural workers.

In the mid-1950's, by the party's will, unprecedented creative work, the development of the virgin and fallow lands, commenced on the infinite expanses of Kazakhstan, Siberia and other areas. The carrying out of this major national economic task required not only enormous organizational work but also political indoctrination. Hundreds of thousands of people, basically young people, from all the Union republics came to the previously empty lands to turn them into fertile fields. It was essential to unite the pioneers in strong collectives and maintain in them a high spirit of labor enthusiasm. Thousands of agitators, speakers, lecturers, propagandists and journalists worked unstintingly on the new sovkhozes and not only by their word but also by their personal example helped to successfully carry out the assignment of the party and the nation.<sup>55</sup>

The virginland workers demonstrated the high moral qualities of the Soviet people and they rightly became an example of serving the cause of communist construction.

In the 1950's, they widely employed the well-proven practice of sending to the spot groups of speakers organized by the Propaganda Section of the Party Central Committee, by the central committees of the Union republic communist parties and by the local party committees from among the leading party and soviet workers and specialists from different areas of knowledge. In 1953, the Moscow gorkom and raykoms had 294 speaker groups with a membership of 7,200 persons.<sup>56</sup> In 1955, in Belorussia over 32,000 reports were given on the materials of the January and July Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee by the speaker groups of the KBP [Belorussian Communist Party] Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms; almost 30,000 (4-fold more than in 1952 on all subjects) were given on the questions of the international situation. In 1956, these groups in the republic had a membership of 12,000 persons.<sup>57</sup> In 1958, the propaganda

groups upon assignment of the Section of Propaganda and Agitation under the Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee for the RSFSR visited Siberia, the Volga, the Arctic, the Urals, Far East and Northern Caucasus. They stopped in 500 towns and 792 rural rayons, they gave around 4,000 lectures and speeches and held a large number of talks.

In line with the major political events, the republic, kray and oblast party committees held meetings and seminars for the party and soviet aktiv and the participants of these subsequently gave reports and talks at enterprises, kol-khozes and sovkhozes and instructed the ideological workers on the spot.

The bringing of political indoctrination closer to the practices of socialist construction required an improvement in agitation and propaganda skills as well as greater purposefulness, accessibility and effectiveness of all this work. Particular attention was paid to truthfulness. At plenums of the party committees, in particular, the central committees of the communist parties of Armenia, Estonia, the Altay Kraykom and others, it was pointed out that political work in the masses, in order to be effective, should reflect all aspects in the life of Soviet society and take up both the successes and shortcomings.

The party organizations steadily improved the political and educational training of the ideological cadres. Thus, during the years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, agitator schools became widespread. These served as a center which unified the agitators into single creative collectives and they generalized the experience of the best agitators. For example, in Leningrad, there were over 70 such schools in operation in 1957. These were also set up under the party organizations of major industrial enterprises. The plans of their exercises, after discussion with the students, were approved at party committee sessions.<sup>58-60</sup>

Thus, research on the problem shows that in the 1950's, the party gained significant experience in ensuring a close unity of ideological-theoretical, political indoctrinal, organizational and economic activities. A further, thorough scientific study of this experience, undoubtedly, would provide not only new data but would also be of important practical significance, in helping to improve the ideological work of the CPSU under present-day conditions.

#### Moral Indoctrination Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism: Certain Tasks of Party History Research

V. I. Glotov. The documents and materials of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee repeatedly emphasized the role and importance of moral indoctrination in the process of carrying out the task of forming a well-rounded, harmoniously developed individual. "The party is working," commented Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "to develop a person who is not merely the carrier of a certain total of knowledge but above all a citizen of a socialist society, an active builder of communism with his inherent ideological views, morality and interests, with a high level of labor and conduct."<sup>61</sup>

The increased role played by moral indoctrination is linked with the ongoing growth of the moral potential in a developed socialist society and to the strengthening of its humanistic essence. The reshaping of all social relations

on collectivist principles inherent to socialism is being completed and this has brought about the establishing in the nation of an atmosphere characterized by true collectivism and moral health. All CPSU policy is permeated with a profound moral sense.

At the same time, the new tasks of growing scale and complexity which are related to improving developed socialism also pose new demands on the individual, on his moral make-up, his position in life where the primary role is played by ideological and moral motives. Any deviations from the standards of communist morality are becoming evermore intolerable. Being by their nature genetically tied to an exploiting society, they can be directly caused also by specific oversights in ideological and political indoctrination. It is also essential to consider the acuteness of the ideological struggle, in particular, over the questions of morality on the international scene.

This is why the tasks of moral indoctrination, in being one of the most important elements in the entire system of communist indoctrination, are assuming growing significance. These tasks are carried out in the process of implementing the party's economic and social policy however here ideological and political indoctrination play the primary role. Generalizing the experience of this work is assuming ever-greater timeliness. Here there is a broad field of activity for the party historians. At times it seems that these questions which have been extensively and fruitfully worked on by philosophers and specialists on the problems of scientific communism<sup>62</sup> have still not assumed their proper place in the party history works. There are also works which generalize the experience of the party organizations in carrying out the tasks of moral indoctrination.<sup>63</sup> Among these a special place is held by the materials of the all-Union practical scientific conference held in Baku in 1979.<sup>64</sup>

First of all, there must be a more profound and extensive generalization of the experience in the party organizations in the area of improving the entire system of moral indoctrination (and such a system, in the opinion of a majority of researchers, is developed in the nation and encompasses all areas of moral indoctrination and includes an entire range of ideological influences). Among the problems which merit particular attention we must mention the role of the party organizations in coordinating efforts of the soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations, labor collectives, schools, and the family, in being aimed at carrying out the tasks of moral indoctrination. It must be pointed out that the experience in the activities of a number of republic, kray and oblast party organizations has been thoroughly examined in the works of social scientists and party workers and has been generalized in the materials of practical scientific conferences. In particular, the experience of the Azerbaijani and Georgian party organizations has become widely known. Here they have not only carried out a system of measures to root out various negative phenomena but most importantly have ensured the active functioning of all ideological means in a single channel of the moral indoctrination process. All of this, as has been repeatedly pointed out by the leaders of the corresponding party organizations, has told favorably on the moral climate. There is no doubt that many other party organizations have acquired a good deal of experience in the integrated carrying out of these tasks of moral indoctrination. Its generalization and analysis have assumed particular significance in light of the instructions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on

a decisive change in the social sciences toward the real, practical tasks which life has posed.

An investigation of the question of the work done by the party organizations to increase the role of the labor collectives in shaping the moral appearance of the individual has assumed growing importance. Precisely the labor collective is the central element in moral indoctrination. It plays a crucial role in shaping the attitudes of people toward labor as their prime moral duty and in forming the individual's moral make-up as a whole. Among the problems confronting party historians in this context are the questions of the work of the party organizations to form a moral climate in the labor collectives, to increase the role of moral incentives in the attitude of people toward labor and in ensuring a correct ratio of moral and material incentives. We must also mention such questions as the role of the party organizations in increasing the moral importance of the socialist competition, in ensuring a proper assessment by the collective of the attitude of its members toward labor and much else. The urgency of these problems has increased particularly in line with the adoption of the USSR Law Governing Labor Collectives.<sup>65</sup> Recently a number of scientific works have appeared on the problems of CPSU history and party construction where these questions have been taken up.<sup>66</sup> It would be wise to examine them even more completely, having shown the role here of ideological and political indoctrination in carrying out the tasks confronting the collectives.

The experience of the party organizations in the area of ethical propaganda also requires generalization. Although, of course, propaganda alone certainly cannot resolve all the problems in forming the moral make-up of an individual. But such propaganda reinforced by the appropriate range of other measures does serve as an important means of moral indoctrination. It is no secret that at the same time in many instances proper attention has not been given to the organizing of such propaganda considering today's requirements and this has repeatedly been taken up in the press. All the more attention should be paid to the experience acquired to the party organizations in this area and in seeking out new forms of work. For example, the people's universities of moral indoctrination and the people's universities of moral education in Belorussia have proven effective. Here the students gain not only profound ethical knowledge but also the skills of propagandists for this area for working directly in the collectives. The experience acquired several years ago in the universities of moral indoctrination and moral education has been generalized by the Bureau of the KPB Central Committee.<sup>67</sup> In a number of places there is interesting experience in organizing the teaching of Marxist ethics in school, the effective use of the press in ethical education and so forth. The generalizing of this experience on a party history level and the elaboration of the corresponding recommendations undoubtedly would contribute to the significant dissemination of experience, to improving the organization of ethical indoctrination and to raising its scientific level.

The question of the forming of rational needs has not been sufficiently dealt with in party history literature. Of course, here there are many difficulties caused by the very complexity and diversity of the process involved in shaping an individual's needs. But it is extremely urgent to study this question on the party history level, to trace its treatment in party documents during various stages of Soviet society's development, particularly in the stage of mature

socialism, to examine its improvement and to show the role of ideological work in carrying out the designated task. In this context it is also essential to note the important methodological importance of the warning contained in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee against a simplified approach to the concept of the "standard of living."<sup>68</sup>

As before, there are the pressing tasks of examining the activities of the party organizations in increasing the indoctrinational role of the school and the family in shaping the moral make-up of the individual, as well as the entire complex of questions related to the moral indoctrination of the youth. It cannot be said that the party historians and specialists on party construction have overlooked these questions, but as yet there still are not enough general works on them. The researchers must give significantly more attention to the problem of the balanced use of free time from the moral and ethical viewpoint.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the instructions contained in the materials of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the role of socio-logical research in increasing the effectiveness of ideological and mass political work<sup>69</sup> apply also fully to the questions of moral indoctrination. The effective use of the results of the recently done sociological research and the further improvement of its methods make it possible to have a more specific idea of the moral climate in one or another region or labor collective as well as about the degree of effectiveness of the indoctrinational measures. This will also make it possible to forecast the moral situation, to more clearly see the reasons for various negative phenomena and correspondingly determine the basic directions in the indoctrinational activities of the party organizations.

These are just some considerations on the ways of investigating the problems of moral indoctrination in the works on party history problems. They do not exhaust the full range of the problems. However, it is clear that increased efforts by party historians in working out these questions will help to raise to a new level all work in the area of shaping an individual's moral make-up.

#### Loyalty to the Principles of Marxist-Leninist Teachings--The Guarantee for Successes in the Communist Movement

I. N. Ksenofontov. One of the most important areas of CPSU activities in the ranks of the international communist movement is the further ideological and political uniting of the fraternal parties on a basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is understandable, for loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings and their creative application in the specific situation have made it possible for the communist movement to achieve successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

All these questions are constantly in the view of the CPSU. They have been thoroughly examined also in a number of scientific-political works of recent years.<sup>70</sup> Yet there still must be a further, more profound examination of these questions.

The problem is that in the present era the international communist movement has achieved such scope that it is rightly considered the most influential political force of modern times. The communists, as always, are in the vanguard of the

struggle for peace and social progress. The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that, in acting against nuclear war, the communists are presently fighting "to preserve human civilization and for the right of man to life."<sup>71</sup> The ruling exploiting classes in many capitalist states have been forced to consider this viewpoint. In a word, the authority and influence of the communist movement are beyond doubt and are generally recognized.

For this reason, it is no accident that imperialism and the reaction have unleashed a flood of lies and slander against the communist movement, they have endeavored to split the communists and instill all sorts of pseudoscientific ideas in their ranks. These generally never-ceasing attacks against the communist movement have grown particularly strong in the present, sharply aggravated international situation. The present American administration for the sake of achieving its ideas of empire, as was emphasized in the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov, "go so far that one cannot help wondering whether in Washington there are any brakes whatsoever to prevent them from crossing the line where any thinking man would halt." In this regard, the statement points out that "all peoples and each inhabitant of our planet should realize the terrible danger. They should realize that they must pool their efforts in the struggle for their own existence."<sup>72</sup>

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that the resolution of the main problem of our times, the problem of war and peace, that is, the future of mankind, depends upon the balance of class forces on the world scene. This largely will be determined by the outcome of the ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of billions of people on the earth. The communist movement holds the leading place in this struggle.

All of this determines the profound interest of the CPSU in the further ideological and political unity of the fraternal parties on a basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Being a component part of the international communist movement, the CPSU along with the other fraternal parties is responsible for its development, for its fate and for raising the role of the communists in resolving the questions of peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU has always considered as its international duty the focusing of attention on the need to strengthen theoretical work of the communists and increase the class awareness of the workers as well as on the importance of the prompt unmasking of ideas and views which are hostile to the cause of the working class. This work has been carried out by the CPSU in many areas and it employs various forms, such as: congresses and plenums of the Soviet communists, international communist forums, the congresses of the fraternal parties, international theoretical conferences and symposiums and so forth.

In the heightened ideological struggle of the two social systems, a struggle which has known and knows no truces, of particularly important significance is the international cooperation of the communists for the historical goals of the working class and primarily their joint struggle to prevent a nuclear war and for a peaceful future for mankind.

Imperialism is perfectly aware of the strength and might of internationalism and for this reason is making its chief blow against it. Imperialist propaganda

has made much of statements about the incompatibility of internationalism with the independence of one or another communist party and has attempted to set one fraternal party against another, to split the monolithic Marxist-Leninist teachings along geographic and national lines and to cast in doubt the experience of real socialism. The fundamental principles of the transition to a new socioeconomic system have been rejected and the foreign policy of socialism has been distorted.

The Communist Party on all these questions holds a clear class, Marxist-Leninist position. The Soviet communists assume that at present as never before there must be no weakening in the mutual solidarity of the ranks of the international working class and all forces acting for peace, democracy and social progress. Capital is an international force, emphasized V. I. Lenin, and for this reason actions against it will be successful only with the joint struggle of the workers.<sup>73</sup>

At present, when the enemies of progress are drawing together on an international scale and are jeopardizing life on earth itself, these words of Lenin have assumed particularly urgent significance.

Naturally, each fraternal party determines its own internal affairs independently. The CPSU does this as well. At the same time, it is doing everything necessary and possible in order to aid not only the cause of world socialism but also the successes of the world communist and workers movement and the national liberation struggle of peoples. Many representatives of the fraternal parties have focused attention on this characteristic trait of CPSU policy. For example, the General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, Gus Hall, in speaking from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress, expressed this principle in the activities of our party very clearly. He said that the CPSU "had never abandoned its class principles for the sake of considerations of temporary advantage and that it always had found a correct combination of the national and international tasks confronting it."<sup>74</sup>

The CPSU proceeds from the fact that the transition from capitalism to socialism involves an entire historical era. And development here is not smooth or rectilinear but has its own "ebbs" and "flows," its deviations and twists. And this is natural, as there is a constant regrouping of class forces with such an historical transition on the world scene and within the individual countries. This, in turn, cannot help but pose new, most complex theoretical and practical questions for the communists and the correct answers must be given to these from precise class positions, proceeding from the principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Marxism-Leninism does not claim the possession of a set of ready-made truths which has merely to be repeated. This is a science, and like any science it is constantly being enriched by revolutionary practice which shows the profound shifts in the socioeconomic and political spheres of human society's development.

In actuality, at the present stage of development there is a whole series of political and ideological problems which concern the communists of various countries. For advancing the cause of the revolution and for defending its victories, it is essential to master both the previously tested forms of

struggle as well as the new ones which are raised by life itself. It is essentially to carefully consider the internal and external factors in the development of the revolutionary process in the specific countries and to find more effective means of linking the direct aims of the class actions of the workers with the struggle for a socialist future. Also it is important ahead of time to determine the essence of power in the transitional period, its attitude toward the exploiting classes which are being forced out from their positions as well as the methods of defending the revolutionary victories of the people. The communists are searching for ways to further strengthen their ranks on a principled, Marxist-Leninist basis and to increase their influence in the working class with the simultaneous development of broad class alliances. At present there is the urgent question of the responsibility of the communists in the struggle for peace, against the threat of nuclear war and for a peaceful future for our world. Finally, the communists of various countries are also reflecting on how to correctly reconcile their growing political role within the national context with the effective internationalist fulfillment of their tasks as component detachments of a single international communist movement.

All these questions are being resolved by the communists in a different objective situation, with the action of various subjective factors as well as under the constant pressure from imperialism and the reaction. In actuality, the communist parties in the nonsocialist area of the world are at work in the developed capitalist countries and the young developing states and this in and of itself predetermines a difference in their immediate goals and tasks of the struggle. They have different political opportunities and difference experience in the struggle. From this we can understand that among the communist parties there are different judgments on certain questions of the modern world and imperialism has constantly stirred up a propaganda campaign over these. But these are the ordinary costs in the development of any political organism which is on its way to establishing a new socioeconomic formation.

Creative searches are underway for theoretical concepts of present-day socio-political processes and phenomena. Certainly here not everything comes all at once, but ultimately practice and life put everything in its place. The CPSU in such instances has always held a clear position: in revolutionary activities the most diverse variations of struggle and compromises among the political forces are possible, but the principles of revolutionary teachings must never be sacrificed for the sake of today's tactical gains, for this would mean harm to the communists, the working class and all the workers.

The communists--both those who are building a new society as well as those who still have a long struggle for its victory--have always had and will have immeasurably more in common, that is, what unites them, than what we today define as divergent views on various questions. The position of the CPSU here has been unchanged and it was reaffirmed by Yu. V. Andropov at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.<sup>75</sup> Our party stresses the necessity and importance of an objective analysis of the essence of arising differences in the communist movement on individual questions, the search primarily for ways to overcome them and for ways to strengthen the solidarity of the world's communists. Certainly all of this is done upon the fundamental basis of revolutionary teachings. And this area in the activities of our party on the international scene, as was emphasized at the plenum by Yu. V. Andropov, one of the most important.

## On the Planned Study and Dissemination of the Experience of Ideological Activities Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism

V. V. Shinkarenko. The necessity of a thorough study of the experience of ideological activities acquired under the conditions of developed socialism and the scientific generalization and dissemination of it are beyond any doubt. However, it is important to make maximum use of the results of examining this experience as acquired in recent years by the party organizations.

Under the conditions of developed socialism, many party organizations--from the republic down to the primary ones--have constantly endeavored to spot and reinforce all the best that has been suggested and tested by life. The acquired experience has been systematically studied by them and in a generalized form disseminated in newspapers, TV and radio broadcasts, in pamphlets, posters and other publications and has also been reflected in practical scientific conferences held on the spot.

In many party organizations, there has been formed and is successfully operating, as M. V. Zimyanin has pointed out, "a unified system for the planned study, generalization and dissemination of advanced experience."<sup>76</sup> This operates in the spheres of party leadership of economic activities, in party organizational work and in the ideological indoctrination of the workers.

For example, in Belorussia the study, propagandizing and introduction of the advanced experience in ideological indoctrination and the turning of it into the property of all the party committees, all the labor collectives and the ideological aktiv are viewed as the central task of all the party committees and organizations in the republic. In endeavoring to raise ideological activities to a new qualitative level, the Belorussian party organizations rely constantly on the experience acquired in the communist indoctrination of the workers.

The long-range and current plans for the work of the KPB Central Committee, the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have sections for "Propaganda and Introduction of Advanced Experience." The Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Central Committee of the KPB draws up an annual work plan which determines the following: the content of the experience, where this is happening, the procedure for studying, generalizing and introducing the experience into broad practice. This plan simultaneously is used to monitor the activities of the party committees and organizations in generalizing and propagandizing advanced experience in ideological and political indoctrination.

The study and propagandizing of advanced experience in the communist indoctrination of the workers are widely planned in the ideological organizations and institutions, the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, television and radio broadcasting and the book publishing houses of the republic. For example, Izdatel'stvo "Belarus'" has regularly examined advanced experience in ideological activities in books and pamphlets of the series: "From the Experience of Ideological Work" and "The Soviet Way of Life." Here over 5 years they have published more than 20 publications on the experience of ideological work with various groups of workers. Moreover, special subject and special problem collections appear regularly.

We would like to emphasize that in the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone, nine collections have been published dealing with advanced experience on such problems as shaping the development of political awareness and a scientific ideology in the workers, social and moral aspects of the socialist competition, increased effectiveness in ideological indoctrination in the production collective, the scientific-technical revolution and the ideological struggle, the harmonizing of human needs, patriotic indoctrination (content, forms and methods), the questions of a comprehensive approach to ideological indoctrination and so forth. In essence, this is already historical experience, is it not?

In carrying out the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Indoctrination," the republic party organizations have isolated the most important areas and directions in studying and introducing the best experience in the ideological indoctrination of the masses. This is primarily the improving of the ideological-political, labor and moral indoctrination of the people, the further development of their patriotic and international awareness and the strengthening of implacability against alien ideology and morality. Here a particular place is held by the studying of the experience related to the forming of a personality, as well as the indoctrinating of profound ideological conviction and the political culture of the Soviet man.<sup>77</sup>

The important role of planning in the process of studying and disseminating advanced experience in ideological and political indoctrination can also be seen in other party organizations. In particular, it has been pointed out that party leadership over the ideological indoctrination process can be highly effective only in the instance when the advanced experience of ideological indoctrination is considered and when the leadership is based on the comprehensive use of all the forms and means of ideological influence and on coordinating the efforts in this area of all the ideological institutions and organizations as well as the party and economic aktiv.

In the Orenburg Oblast Party Organization, where much is being done to study and introduce the experience of ideological and political indoctrination from the party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities and where the party workers have carefully studied the materials of the all-Union practical scientific conferences organized by the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius, Sverdlovsk, Tula and Rostov-na-Donu, they are becoming evermore convinced from the example of others and from their personal practical experience that all of this work cannot and should not be carried out spontaneously. Here the clear interaction of all the sections of the party committee is guaranteed precisely by the comprehensive unified plans worked out in all the party organizations and the party committees rely on these in their activities.<sup>78</sup>

In recent years, many party organizations have endeavored to encompass the entire spectrum of the most urgent problems of ideological work involving the further improvement of developed socialism in a planned study, generalization and dissemination of advanced experience.

Here the party organizations pay particular attention to ideological indoctrination in the sphere of material production and to generalizing the experience of worker ideological indoctrination acquired directly in the labor collectives

and in the primary party organizations active on the forward edge of communist construction. Thus, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party in recent years they have studied and generalized the experience of organizing ideological indoctrination at the Shatlykgazdobycha [Shatlyk Gas Production] Association, at the Chardzhoukhimstroy [Chardzhou Chemical Construction] Trust, at the Glavkarakumstroy [Main Karakum Construction] Administration, at the Krasnovodsk Seaport, on a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in the ministries of cotton ginning, light industry, automotive transport and domestic services of the public. The experience acquired by the party organizations in ideological indoctrination is systematically generalized at republic practical scientific conferences. The holding of such conferences is one of the effective ways for deepening the scientific principles and activating the ideological work of the party organizations.<sup>79</sup>

In the Gorkiy Oblast Party Organization there is a system at work of base party committees which on a planned basis accumulate and prepare the best experience for dissemination, selecting and checking for this purpose the most effective forms and methods of ideological indoctrination. Thus, the party organizations in this oblast are studying long-range planning of ideological indoctrination following the example of the Sovetskiy and Ardatovskiy CPSU Raykoms; they are studying the leadership over party studies using the example of the Nizhegorodskiy, Navashinskiy, Vachskiy and Balakhninskiy Raykoms and Gorkoms, the organizing of the economic education of the cadres from the practice of the Lukoyanovskiy and Leninskiy CPSU Raykoms, the organization of work with the population at its place of residence from the example of the Avtozavodskiy and Priokskiy Party Organizations, the improving of the forms and methods of moral indoctrination from the example of the Dzerzhinsk CPSU Gorkom and so forth.

Scientists are actively aiding the party organizations in the work of the planned study, generalization and dissemination of advanced experience. The Bureau of the Gorkiy CPSU Gorkom has approved a specific program for the social science chairs of the VUZes which are concerned with the scientific generalization of the experience of ideological and political indoctrination. Much research in Gorkiy Oblast is being carried out jointly with the OAN under the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute for Sociological Research under the USSR Academy of Sciences.<sup>80</sup>

At the 1981 all-Union seminar conference it was pointed out that experience is being successfully acquired in comprehensive planning of ideological indoctrination in the Stavropol Kray organization. Here all sections of the CPSU kraykom, obkom, gorkoms and raykoms are actively involved in working out the comprehensive plans. On a planned basis the party organizations improve all forms of ideological indoctrination which objectively help to unify the efforts of many organizations and actually institute a comprehensive approach.<sup>81</sup>

As is known, experience in ideological work in the area of propagandizing and carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is being gained in an effective and planned manner in the Adyge Oblast Party Organization. Here the party obkom has approved a long-range work plan encompassing the basic areas in the activities of the oblast party organization in light of the tasks raised by the 26th CPSU Congress. The party organizations have worked out measures for long-term and profound propaganda, for explaining and studying the congress materials. In carrying out these plans, the party organizations during the

first months after the congress gained definite experience and this was the subject of review at an all-Union seminar conference for ideological workers in April 1981.<sup>82</sup>

Of course, the organizing of the study and dissemination of the best experience in ideological and political indoctrination is still far from ideal. It requires a further improvement in light of the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Here there are still shortcomings, oversights and unused opportunities which have been pointed out by party workers previously.<sup>83</sup>

However, as a whole, the study of the state of generalizing the experience in the area of ideological work in the party organizations shows that under present-day conditions it is successfully carried out only on the basis of carefully conceived long-range plans. It was already pointed out that the study and generalization of advanced experience bring real benefit only when this is done on the basis of a specific historical approach, namely: in the first place, in direct relationship to the party's tasks at the present historical stage, with the theses of its congresses, plenum decisions, the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and other party documents; secondly, on the basis of a careful study of the concrete activities of the party organizations, the living, real and actually existing experience acquired under the conditions of developed socialism, particularly in recent years; thirdly, considering the experience of party work gained in the previous stages of our society's development.<sup>84</sup>

Undoubtedly, all of this must be kept in mind in examining the historical experience of CPSU ideological activities. In particular, in generalizing it we must not only consider the practical demand for it by the party organizations but in the process of the scientific research rely on the system already formed in the local party organizations for studying, generalizing and disseminating this experience, coordinating the scientific research plans in this sphere of ideological activity with the plans of the party organizations.

#### From the Editors

In light of the tasks posed by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the participants in the discussion examined a number of important questions related to a further study of the historical experience of the CPSU in the area of ideological-theoretical, agitation-propaganda and political-indoctrinational work by the party in the various stages of socialist construction. Of course, their comments could not reflect the entire wealth of this work or disclose the historical experience acquired in the process of it. The practice of CPSU ideological, mass-political activities, if viewed historically, is an inexhaustible source of in all regards very valuable experience of ideological influence on the broad masses of workers and it is capable of providing answers to the most crucial and diverse questions of modern times.

Ideological work is a question for the entire party. This question has been posed thus by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov in his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is also viewed thus in the report of the member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko. It was formulated thus in the decree of the plenum "Urgent Questions of Party Ideological and Mass Political Work." And this is precisely how things stand also in reality: millions upon millions of people are conducting this work in the masses. Due to their daily labor, the party's influence covers the most diverse groups of the population and virtually all the Soviet people. Under present-day conditions, these activities are characterized by an increased level of ideological content, by a richness and diversity of forms, by effectiveness and accessibility. At the same time, here there also are many shortcomings and these were thoroughly discussed at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov in his speech at the plenum pointed out that all ideological, indoctrinal and propaganda work must be raised to a level of those great and complex tasks which the CPSU is carrying out in the process of improving developed socialism. "The party committees of all levels," he said, "each party organization should realize that with all the importance of other questions with which they must be concerned (economic, organizational and others), ideological work more and more is moving to the forefront. We have clearly seen what serious harm can be caused by flaws in this work and by the insufficient maturity of human awareness when this occurs. Conversely, even now we can feel how the pace of advancement is increasing, when ideological work is becoming more effective and when the masses better understand party policy, perceiving it as their own and conforming to the vital interests of the people."<sup>85</sup>

At the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, our party, relying on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and in developing the theses of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) Central Committee Plenum, put forward an extensive plan of ideological activities of long-term importance. This plan has enriched the party's ideological and theoretical arsenal with new profound ideas containing a realistic assessment of the present and based upon an analysis of real trends and scientific prediction of the future. The plenum covered a broad spectrum of ideological problems and adopted decisions planned for extended systematic work to be carried out by the joint efforts of all elements of the ideological indoctrinal complex and all the party's ideological institutions.

The party organizations have at their disposal a very rich arsenal of means for ideological influence on the masses in the press, the radio, television, oral propaganda and an enormous network of various types of schools. The party historians and specialists in the area of party construction must more profoundly study how all these means are being employed, considering, in particular, that the educational level and demands of the Soviet people have increased significantly and that under these conditions propaganda will not achieve its goal if formalism, routine, timidity or laziness of thinking are permitted.

The plenum emphasized that all the party committees and all party organizations should have specially trained cadres who would be capable of skillfully organizing ideological work with various groups of the population and be responsible for this. Researchers must also pay attention to this aspect of the problem.

The plenum pointed out that it is essential to consider that the present has been marked by a clash of unprecedented intensity and acuteness during the postwar period between two diametrically opposite ideologies and two political courses--socialism and imperialism. At present, there is a most acute struggle being waged for the hearts and minds of billions of people in the world and the future of all mankind largely depend upon its outcome. Under these conditions, it is exceptionally important to be able to reach the broadest masses of people throughout the world, bringing them the truth in an accessible and persuasive form about the socialist society, its advantages and its peaceful policy. It is equally important to set up a well thought out and unified system of counterpropaganda which would effectively and completely unmask the false subversive imperialist propaganda as well as any sort of anticomunist and anti-Soviet fabrications.

The plenum outlined a broad program of work and pointed out that it is essential to set to carrying it out immediately. The further improving of ideological and mass political work as well as the increasing of its results are a most important task for the party, its committees and organizations. At the same time this is also a most important task for the researchers of ideological activities. It is their prime and immediate obligation to put the historical experience acquired by the party over the last six and a half decades in the area of the communist indoctrination of the masses into the service of the party organizations.

This is a very difficult task. The crux of the matter is that the object of research is marked by exceptional complexity. "Ideological work is a living, creative matter," pointed out the Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. V. Zimyanin. "Much valuable and interesting experience is engendered in the process of this. But this experience must be constantly studied, carefully weighed on the strict scales of practice and more widely disseminated. One of the reasons for its slow dissemination is obviously that at times there is no clear notion on what experience and what problems should be taken up. There must be a careful consideration of the best experience in ideological work, particularly that having general party importance and we must work constantly to introduce it everywhere."<sup>86</sup>

The roundtable participants for completely understandable reasons limited themselves to examining only the most urgent problems related to the study of the historical experience and ideological activities of the CPSU. They described, naturally, in the most general terms, the role of the party's ideological activities in establishing and developing socialism and the importance of the historical experience gained in the process of this activity. They examined how the party in various stages of socialist construction carried out specific tasks confronting it in the sphere of ideological and political indoctrination.

The discussion held was an attempt to pose the question of studying the historical experience of CPSU ideological activities by the collective efforts of researchers specialized in the area of party construction and CPSU history. For this reason, it was more of an exploratory nature than a debate. As a result a number of important areas were disclosed for further, more profound and, possibly, even interdisciplinary research on the historical experience of the party's ideological activities. Among these are: a study of the experience of

ideological-theoretical and ideological-indoctrinal work, communist propaganda and political agitation and the providing of political information for the masses. The discussion showed that in studying the experience of the communist indoctrination of the workers, it is important to view its basic areas (ideological-political, labor and moral indoctrination as well as military-patriotic, international, aesthetic, atheistic and others) in a unity with organizational and economic work, considering the particular features of the various worker groups and above all the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. It is important to study the experience acquired in the system of party studies, in the system of the mass information and propaganda media (newspapers and magazines, television, radio broadcasting, the information agencies and publishing houses), in the educational system and in the sphere of culture and art. Finally, the closest attention must be given to the experience of ideological activities acquired by the public organizations such as the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society and others.

The discussion showed that in studying historical experience acquired by the party in the sphere of ideological activities, it is essential to rely on the system of the planned study, generalization and dissemination of advanced experience established under present-day conditions in the practices of the party organizations.

Here it is important to consider in what manner the ideological and mass political work influences a rise in the militancy of the party and further improving the style of party work and how it teaches each communist to profoundly understand party policy and gives him the ability to consistently carry it out. Ultimately this increases the leading role of the CPSU in social development and multiplies the successes of the socialist system.

"Ensuring the priority of the interests of all the people, utilizing all reserves and opportunities for accelerating our advancement, scientificness and professionalism and stronger control over the carrying out of the adopted decisions--these are the most important traits of that style of party leadership which has been steadily confirmed by our Central Committee, a truly Leninist style."<sup>87</sup> Correctly organized, ideological, mass political work and the historical experience gained in the process of this are of major significance in instituting this work style. This is the experience of indoctrinating labor morality and discipline, maximum responsibility and organization, a creative attitude toward the job, implacability against any violations of the standards of socialist morality, against idleness or manifestations of bureaucracy, disregarding worker interests, abuse of official position and so forth.

There should be a special study of the experience of the ideological workers who are helping the party organizations in improving the style of party leadership, who work steadily for the strict observance of the Leninist standards of party life and who develop intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism, initiative and activeness of each communist.

The party's experience in the sphere of the ideological struggle against capitalism and in the area of developing the offensive nature of our propaganda and agitation merits the closest examination.

It is important not to overlook that CPSU ideological activities and consequently this experience are being studied by Soviet scientists from different aspects. Aside from the party historians and specialists in the area of party construction, these questions are the concern of philosophers within the framework of historical materialism and scientific communism, sociologists, specialists in the area of the theory and practice of journalism, economists, linguists, cyberneticians and the representatives of other sciences and scientific disciplines. They study the same phenomenon but approach it from different sides. It is essential to unite the efforts in the aim of a broader and more complete coverage of such a complex social phenomenon as are the ideological activities of the CPSU and its historical experience. "Certainly social creativity and progress in the future," said Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at a meeting with party veterans in the CPSU Central Committee, "naturally assume the preservation and enrichment of all that was of value acquired in the past."<sup>88</sup>

Historical experience teaches that party ideological work is a single, unbroken whole. It is involved with human awareness, human thoughts and feelings and these, as is known, cannot be split between different departments. The spirit and essence of the plenum's decisions demand that the party historians and the specialists in the area of party construction show a critical approach to any unanswered questions and shortcomings in the sphere of ideological activities and an ability to determine the weak points in propaganda and indoctrination and provide useful practical recommendations.

It is also essential to point out that many urgent questions related to studying the historical experience of CPSU ideological activities have remained outside the discussion. The participants at the roundtable were in favor of the journal periodically publishing creative seminars where the researchers specialized in the area of studying the historical experience of CPSU ideological activities could share the results of their research with party and ideological workers. The editors express the hope that the journal's readers will voice their opinion on the questions raised.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See M. V. Zimyanin, "A Party of Revolutionary Action," PRAVDA, 30 July 1983.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 21.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol 12, p 104.

<sup>4</sup> See: ibid., Vol 6, pp 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyuya 1983 g." [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 14-15 June 1983], p 26.

<sup>6</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 41, p 42.

<sup>7</sup> See: K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 3, p 4.

<sup>8</sup> Yu. V. Andropov, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2d Edition, Moscow, 1983, p 248.

<sup>9</sup> "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 6.

<sup>10</sup> The given problem has been examined in numerous works on the history of the CPSU, including by many local party organizations, as well as in works investigating the history of the party's ideological activities from the example of a number of regions, the problems of industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the First Five-Year Plan, the development of the socialist competition and so forth. In bringing out many important aspects of party experience in the area of ideological indoctrination, the published works still do not create a sufficiently complete picture of its role and significance as one of the crucial factors in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan. The timeliness of this experience has not been analyzed with sufficient profundity in light of the present-day tasks of CPSU ideological work.

<sup>11</sup> V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 35, p 57.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p 195.

<sup>13</sup> "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...," [The CPSU in Resolutions], Vol 4, p 164.

<sup>14</sup> V. V. Kuybyshev, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Moscow, 1958, pp 150, 153.

<sup>15</sup> V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 39, p 14.

<sup>16</sup> Yu. V. Andropov, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i," pp 234-235.

<sup>17</sup> See: "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...," Vol 4, p 175.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Vol 5, p 73.

<sup>19</sup> See: ibid., Vol 3, pp 447-453; SPRAVOCHNIK PARTIYNOGO RABOTNIKA, No 6, Part 1, pp 504-505; ibid., No 8, pp 417-419, 656-661 and so forth.

<sup>20</sup> See: "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...," Vol 3, p 382.

<sup>21</sup> See: "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 6.

<sup>22</sup> See: "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...," Vol 5, pp 123-126.

<sup>23</sup> See: PARTIYNAYE STROITEL'STVO, No 23-24, 1933, p 61.

<sup>24</sup> See: SPRAVOCHNIK PARTIYNOGO RABOTNIKA, No 9, 1938.

<sup>25</sup> See: "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 58.

<sup>26</sup> V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 41, pp 400-401.

<sup>27</sup> See: *ibid.*, Vol 45, p 58.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol 37, p 304.

<sup>29</sup> "Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov," *PRAVDA*, 29 September 1983.

<sup>30</sup> V. I. Lenin, *PSS*, Vol 40, p 332.

<sup>31</sup> See: *IZVESTIYA NARODNOGO KOMISSARIATA PO VOYENNYYM DELAM*, 12 April 1919.

<sup>32</sup> See: "Dekrety Sovetskoy vlasti" [Decrees of Soviet Power], Vol 2, pp 151-153.

<sup>33</sup> See: *VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL*, No 4, 1963, p 5.

<sup>34</sup> See: N. S. Mutovkin, "Voyenno-politicheskiy soyuz rabochego klassa i trudovogo krest'yanstva v SSSR v period inostrannoy voyennoy interventsii i grazhdanskoy voyny (1918-1920 gody)" [The Military-Political Alliance of the Working Class and the Labor Peasantry in the USSR During the Period of the Foreign Military Intervention and the Civil War (1918-1920)], Moscow, 1965, p 164.

<sup>35</sup> TsPA IML [Central Party Archives of the Marxism-Leninism Institute], folio 17, inv. 65, file 159, sheet 22.

<sup>36</sup> V. I. Lenin, *PSS*, Vol 41, pp 31-32.

<sup>37</sup> M. N. Tukhachevskiy, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol 1, 1919-1927, Moscow, 1964, p 45.

<sup>38</sup> See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle], Vol 7, Moscow, 1976, p 191.

<sup>39</sup> See: "KPSS--organizator zashchity sotsialisticheskogo Otechestva" [The CPSU --The Organizer of the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland], Moscow, 1977, p 131.

<sup>40</sup> See: K. Ye. Voroshilov, "Stat'i i rechi" [Articles and Speeches], Moscow, 1937, p 143.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example: I. I. Katorgin, "Bor'ba Kommunisticheskoy partii za vostanovleniye i razvitiye narodnogo khozyaystva v poslevoyennyye gody (1945-1953 gg.)" [The Struggle of the Communist Party for the Reconstruction and Development of the National Economy in the Postwar Years (1945-1953)], Moscow, 1960; I. A. Tishkov, "Bor'ba Kommunisticheskoy partii za vostanovleniye i razvitiye sotsialisticheskogo narodnogo khozyaystva v poslevoyenny period (1945-1953)" [The Struggle of the Communist Party for the Reconstruction and Development of the Socialist National Economy in the Postwar Period (1945-1953)], Moscow, 1960; A. L. Ugryumov, "Kommunisticheskaya v poslevoyenny period (1945-1953)" [The Communist Party in the

Struggle to Rebuild and Develop the National Economy in the Postwar Period (1945-1953)], Moscow, 1960; "Bor'ba partii i rabochego klassa za vosstanovleniye i razvitiye narodnogo khozyaystva SSSR (1943-1950 gg.)" [The Struggle of the Party and the Working Class for Rebuilding and Developing the Soviet National Economy (1943-1950)], Moscow, 1978; A. Ya. Utenkov, "Bor'ba KPSS za vosstanovleniye narodnogo khozyaystva i dal'neysheye razvitiye sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva (1946-1955 gg.)" [The Struggle of the CPSU for Building the National Economy and Further Developing the Socialist Society (1946-1955)], Moscow, 1974.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Ye. M. Kuznetsov, "Politicheskaya agitatsiya: nauchnyye osnovy i praktika" [Political Agitation: Scientific Principles and Practice], Moscow, 1974; Yu. V. Babko, M. G. Bezpal'ko, D. F. Grigorovich and I. P. Kozhukalo, "Partiynoye prosveshcheniye. Ocherki istorii" [Party Education. Historical Essays], Kiev, 1978; F. G. Krotov, "Shkola ideynoy zakalki. Ocherki istorii marksistsko-leninskogo obrazovaniye v KPSS" [A School of Ideological Tempering. Essays on the History of Marxist-Leninist Education in the CPSU], Moscow, 1978, and so forth.

<sup>43</sup> "KPSS v resolyutsiyakh..." Vol 6, p 151.

<sup>44</sup> See: BOL'SHEVIK SOVETSKOY LATVII, No 8, 1947, p 30.

<sup>45</sup> "O partiynoy i sovetskoy pechati, radioveshchanii i televidenii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" [On the Party and Soviet Press, Radio Broadcasting and Television. A Collection of Documents and Materials], pp 277-278.

<sup>46</sup> "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo..." p 7.

<sup>47</sup> See: M. V. Zimyanin, "A Party of Revolutionary Action," PRAVDA, 30 July 1983.

<sup>48</sup> See: "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], pp 76-77.

<sup>49</sup> See: "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo..." pp 5, 29, 70 and so forth.

<sup>50</sup> M. V. Zimyanin, "A Party of Revolutionary Action," PRAVDA, 30 July 1983.

<sup>51</sup> V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 41, p 407.

<sup>52</sup> See: PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 8, 1954, pp 3-9.

<sup>53</sup> Previously there was the acute question of the mastering of the language of the indigenous population by the propagandists and agitators. This question was repeatedly discussed in the party organizations. The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party (Bolshevik) (March 1957) stated in its resolution: "Political work should be carried out in the mother tongue. An ignorance of Estonian does not free the party members of the duties of constantly conducting political work in the masses. It is essential to supervise the study of Estonian and Russian by the party, economic, trade union and Komsomol workers" (see: TsPA IML, folio 17, inv. 57, file 1243, sheet 24).

54 TsPA IML, folio 17, inv. 54, file 2515, sheet 283.

55 For example, in Altay Kray alone in 1955, work was conducted by 50,000 agitators (TsPA IML, folio 17, inv. 55, file 614, sheet 45).

56 TsPA IML, folio 17, inv. 53, file 2156, sheet 137.

57 "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Belorussii" [Essays from the History of the Belorussian Communist Party], Part 2 (1921-1966), p 493; PA IIP pri TsK KPB [Party Archives of the Party History Institute under the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party], folio 4, inv. 71, file 154, sheets 9-11.

58-60 See: PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 17, 1957, p 55; No 19, 1958, p 51.

61 "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 18.

62 See: G. Ye. Glazerman, "Rozhdeniye novogo cheloveka. Problemy formirovaniya lichnosti pri sotsializme" [The Birth of the New Man. Problems of the Shaping of the Individual Under Socialism], Moscow, 1982; V. T. Yefimov, "Formirovaniye aktivnoy zhiznennoy pozitsii--tsel' nравственного воспитания" [The Formation of an Activist Position in Life--The Aim of Moral Indoctrination], Moscow, 1977; G. L. Smirnov, "Sovetskiy chelovek. Formirovaniye sotsialisticheskogo tipa lichnosti" [The Soviet Man. The Formation of a Socialist Type of Individual], 3d Supplemented Edition, Moscow, 1980; V. M. Sokolov, "Nравственный мир советского человека. Opyt sotsiologicheskogo analiza nравственных problem sovremennika" [The Moral World of the Soviet Man. Experience of Sociological Analysis of Moral Problems of Contemporary Man], Moscow, 1981; A. K. Uledov, "Dukhovnaya zhizn' obshchestva: problemy metodologii issledovaniya" [Spiritual Life of Society: Problems of Research Methodology], Moscow, 1980, as well as the collective works: "Nравственное воспитание: problemy teorii i praktiki" [Moral Indoctrination: Problems of Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1979; "Nравственное воспитание в usloviyakh razvitiya sotsializma" [Moral Indoctrination under the Conditions of Developed Socialism], Minsk, 1981, and so forth.

63 See: G. A. Aliyev, "Po normam nashey sovesti" [According to the Standards of Our Conscience], Baku, 1979; I. P. Kalin, "Kommunisticheskiye idealy. Kak ikh utverdit' i razvit' v cheloveke. Iz opyta Kompartii Moldavii po sovershenstvovaniyu partiynogo rukovodstva vospitatel'nym protsessom" [Communist Ideals. How to Establish and Develop Them in Man. From the Experience of the Moldavian Communist Party on Improving Party Leadership Over the Indoctrinational Process], Moscow, 1981; L. N. Ponomarev, "Kompleksnyy podkhod k vospitatel'noy rabote" [An Integrated Approach to Indoctrinational Work], Moscow, 1979, and others.

64 See: "Aktivnaya zhiznennaya pozitsiya bortsov za kommunizm" [An Activist Position in Life for the Fighters for Communism], Moscow, 1979; "Voprosy partiynogo rukovodstva nравственным воспитанием" [Questions of Party Leadership Over Moral Indoctrination], Moscow, 1979; "Kommunisticheskaya ideynost' --osnova aktivnoy zhiznennoy pozitsii" [Communist Ideological Loyalty--The Basis of an Activist Position in Life], Moscow, 1979 and so forth.

65 See: "The Law of the USSR on Labor Collectives and on Increasing Their Role in Managing Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations," *PRAVDA*, 19 June 1983.

66 See: "Ideyno-vospitatel'naya rabota v proizvodstvennom kollektive: opyt, problemy. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii 'Puti povysheniya effektivnosti ideyno-vospitatel'noy raboty v proizvodstvennom killektive" [Ideological Indoctrination in the Production Collective: Experience, Problems. From the Materials of an All-Union Practical Scientific Conference on "Ways of Increasing the Effectiveness of Ideological Indoctrination in the Production Collective"], Moscow, 1976; "Nrvastvennoye vospitaniye v trudovom kollektive: opyt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya" [Moral Indoctrination in the Labor Collective: Experience of a Sociological Study], Moscow, 1981; "Problemy nrvastvennogo vospitaniya lichnosti (opyt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya v trudovykh killektivakh)" [Problems of Moral Indoctrination of the Individual (Experience of Sociological Research in Labor Collectives)], Moscow, 1981; "Razvitiye aktivnosti trudovogo kollektiva. Iz optya raboty partiynykh organizatsiy promyshlennyykh predpriyatiy" [The Development of the Activeness of a Labor Collective. From the Experience of the Party Organizations at Industrial Enterprises], Moscow, 1982; "Trudovoy kilektiv--tsentral'noye zveno nrvastvennogo vospitaniya. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii v Baku 25-27 aprelya 1979 goda" [The Labor Collective--The Central Element in Moral Indoctrination. From the Materials of an All-Union Practical Scientific Conference in Baku on 25-27 April 1979], Moscow, 1979 and so forth.

67 See: "Aktivnaya zhiznennaya positsiya...," p 82.

68 See: "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 13.

69 See: *ibid.*, pp 32, 33, 63 and so forth.

70 See: V. V. Zagladin, "Za prava trudyashchikhsya, za mir i bezopasnost' narodov" [For Worker Rights, for Peace and Security of Peoples], Moscow, 1982; "Mirovoye kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye" [The World Communist Movement] (Edited by V. V. Zagladin), Moscow, 1982; B. I. Korolev, "Real'nyy sotsializm i ideologicheskaya bor'ba" [Real Socialism and the Ideological Struggle], Moscow, 1983; A. D. Shutov, "XXVI s"yezd KpSS i mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess" [The 26th CPSU Congress and the World Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1982; V. V. Sukharev, "Avangard mirovogo sotsializma. Internatsional'noye vzaimodeystviye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiys stran sotsialisticheskogo sodruzhestva" [The Vanguard of World Socialism. The International Interaction of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist Commonwealth Countries], Kiev, 1982; "Rabochiy klass v mirivom revolyutsionnom protsesse" [The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1982; PROBLEMY MIROVOGO REVOLYUTSIONNOGO PROTSESSA [Problems of the World Revolutionary Process], No 2, Moscow, 1982; "Problemy kommunisticheskogo dvizheniya" [Problems of the Communist Movement], Annual for 1981 ("Marxism-Leninism--A Creative International Teaching of Communists of the Entire World"), Moscow, 1982 and so forth.

71 "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 20.

72 "Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yu. V. Andropov," PRAVDA, 29 September 1983.

73 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 7, p 238.

74 "XXV s"yead KPSS" [The 25th CPSU Congress], verbatim record, Vol 2, Moscow, 1976, p 56.

75 "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," pp 21-22.

76 "Za vysokoye kachestvo i deystvennost' ideologicheskoy raboty" [For High Quality and Effectiveness of Ideological Work], p 48.

77 For more detail on this see: S. Ye. Pavlov, "Relying on Acquired Experience," "Luchshiy opyt--v praktiku partiynoy raboty" [The Best Experience in the Practice of Party Work], Moscow, 1980, pp 3-24.

78 See: "Luchshiy opyt...," p 27.

79 See: M. M. Mollayeva, "Not By Numbers But By Ability!" "Za vysokoye kachestvo i deystvennost'...," p 504.

80 See: I. Z. Borisova, "To Achieve a Unity in Ideological, Organizational and Economic Work," ibid., pp 519-521.

81 See: A. A. Korobeynikov, "To Improve Ideological Work and to Link It More Closely with Economic Activity," ibid., p 511.

82 See: A. S. Kushu, "On the Experience of Ideological Work in Propagandizing and Carrying Out the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," ibid., pp 531-534.

83 For example, attention was drawn to the fact that there is a need to establish a more effective system for propagandizing the best experience of ideological work on a nation-wide scale and this would not so much describe the experience as it would disclose the ways, forms and methods of introducing it (see: ibid., pp 519-521).

84 See: VOPROSY Istorii KPSS, No 3, 1980, p 154.

85 "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo...," p 5.

86 "Za vysokoye kachestvo i deystvennost'...," p 80.

87 M. V. Zimyanin, "A Party of Revolutionary Action," PRAVDA, 30 July 1983.

88 PRAVDA, 16 August 1983.

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**PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE CHANGES IN REPUBLIC TIES TO ALL-UNION BODIES SCORED**

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press  
21 Dec 83) pp 101-102

[Article by A. Sliva, candidate of legal sciences: "In the Interests of Complete Development"]

[Text] A document of tremendous importance for the reinforcement and development of the national-state principles of Soviet society is the USSR Constitution. It laid the political-legal basis for the further flourishing and rapprochement of all the nations and nationalities in our country, and all the union republics. Our country's Basic Law encourages the use of their large opportunities, primarily in the area of the economic and social relations.

The union republic guarantees the complete economic and social development on its territory, contributes to the carrying out of the powers exercised by the USSR, implements the decisions of its highest agencies of state authority and administration on matters that pertain to the republic's jurisdiction, and coordinates and monitors the activities of enterprises, institutions, and organizations of union subordination. The resolution of these tasks occupies a leading place in the activities of the republic government. It is the analysis of the relations between the union republic Council of Ministers and the enterprises, organizations, and institutions of superior subordination that is the subject of Ya. Kh. Kochumov's book\*. The research carried out by the author is based principally on materials pertaining to Turkmen SSR.

The development of the economy of the USSR as a single national-economic complex and of its component parts -- the economies of the union republics -- the administration of them with a consideration of the branch and territorial principles, objectively leads to the increasing in the role of the republic governments, and their coordinational and control functions. At such time the enterprises of union subordination, as the author of the book justly notes, frequently are given first-priority importance in that complex. For example, in Turkmen SSR the industry of union subordination produces and sells almost 44 percent of the output produced in the republic. Almost one-third of the

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\* Ya. Kh. Kochumov, "Konstitutsiya SSSR i problemy upravleniya ekonomicheskim i sotsial'nym razvitiyem soyuznoy respubliki" [The USSR Constitution and Problems of Administering the Economic and Social Development of the Union Republic], Ashkhabad, Izd-vo "Ylym", 1982, 144 pp, price one ruble.

normative acts enacted by the TuSSR Council of Ministers are addressed specifically to the enterprises of union subordination. A similar situation also typifies the other republics.

Using a number of examples the author indicates: the activities of the republic's Council of Ministers are directed toward the guaranteeing of the coordinated work of the ministries and departments, their agencies, enterprises, and organizations in the outlying areas. This is no simple matter. One-fifth of the enterprises are subordinate to more than 20 all-union ministries, state committees, and departments. Their legal status is extremely varied. The departmental acts sometimes treat differently (or completely fail to establish) their duties with respect to the republic's state agencies. Therefore the author makes a recommendation that deserves attention when he recommends establishing at an all-union level a rule that stipulates a single procedure, as well as the firm legal status of those enterprises, institutions, and organizations, after preliminarily coordinating the appropriate acts with the republic governments.

The central chapter of the monograph is devoted to a description of the relations between the union republic's Council of Ministers and the enterprises, institutions, and organizations of superior subordination in various areas -- the areas of planning, economic activity, the protection of the environment, social development and culture, and administrative-political activity. The author analyzes in detail the constitutional and other legal norms that regulate such relations. Special attention is given to the practice of the implementation of legislation, to the problems that arise in that regard, and the ways to resolve them.

The author's conclusions that are probably of greatest interest are those that pertain to the questions of planning. In particular, he expresses the idea of the necessity of the more precisely coordinated activity in the links of the planning system -- the state planning committees, the planning subdivisions of the ministries and departments, their enterprises, and the planning commissions of the executive committees of the local Soviets. He also proposes the more precise definition of the list of the basic indicators in the plans for associations and enterprises that are to be communicated to the republic Gosplans for their inclusion in the draft versions of state plans. Unfortunately the monograph fails to reflect the basic principles in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "The Further Increase in the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Economic Construction." And yet many of its norms are directly addressed to the Councils of Ministers of the union republics, and they define their relations with enterprises of all-union subordination.

The book acquaints the reader with the role of the union republic government in the formation of territorial-production complexes, and comprehensive programs. On the basis of the results of a comparative analysis of the activities of the Councils of Ministers of a number of republics he substantiates the need to increase the activity rate of their work in the area of the protection of the environment. Moreover, the author proposes the creation in all union republics of special state agencies for the protection of the environment.

The book also throws light upon the legal-organizational forms of relations between the republic governments and the enterprises, institutions, and organizations of union subordination. Ya. Kh. Kochumov makes a recommendation that is aimed at improving the legal basis of the organization and activities of the permanent representations of the Councils of Ministers of the union republics attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. The currently effective union-level act dealing with permanent representations, which was adopted as long ago as 1931, is largely obsolete and fails to take into consideration the new requirements.

The book being reviewed is, however, not devoid of shortcomings. It seems worthwhile to dwell in more detail on some of them.

It is generally known that the republic's Council of Ministers enters into both direct and indirect relations with the enterprises of union subordination. Whereas the former are illuminated in the monograph with sufficient completeness, one cannot say that of the effect exerted by the government upon the enterprises of superior subordination by way of the all-union ministries and departments, as well as the executive committees of the local Soviets.

The Council of Ministers is the chief agency of the republic's state administration. It is endowed with broad powers that are linked with the guaranteeing of the complete economic and social development. Legislation defines the paths for the implementation of the coordinational powers: the Council of Ministers can resolve the appropriate questions itself, can participate in their resolution in agencies of the USSR, or can exert an effect upon their resolution by way of the agencies subordinate to it, including the executive committees of the local Soviets. What is the correlation, the combination of those paths? What is the percentage of each of them? How does practice develop? Unfortunately, these questions have not been analyzed in the monograph.

The author of the book emphasizes that the right of the union republic to participate in the resolution of questions that pertain to the jurisdiction of the USSR in the USSR Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the USSR Government, and other agencies of the USSR is its sovereign power. But is that really so, because a similar right also exists for the autonomous republic, although in this instance we are dealing with a nonsovereign state. The powers to participate in the discussion of questions of republic and all-union importance are also granted to the local Soviets, which are the agencies of state authority only within the confines of the administrative-territorial units.

It is also difficult to agree with the author's assertion that, in the relations between the republic government and the enterprises of union subordinations, the principle that comes to the foreground is the "principle of territorial administration, being guided by which the Council of Ministers of the union republic fulfills the governmental functions." As is generally known, the USSR Constitution has firmly established a norm dealing with the administration of the country's economy with a consideration of the branch and territorial principles. In their turn, the constitutions of the republics, the laws concerning their governments, impose upon those agencies not only the duty to guarantee the complete economic and social development on the territory of the republic, but also the responsibility for the development of the individual branches of the economy and culture. This also pertains in full measure to the

branches of union subordination, inasmuch as the constitutional duty of the republic's agency is the implementation of the decisions of the higher agencies of state authority and administration of the USSR. Therefore both the excessive exaggeration of the territorial principle, and the absolutizing of the departmental subordination of the enterprises are equally incorrect, and, incidentally, the author also justifiably objects to that absolutization.

Situated within the confines of this problem is another moot recommendation that is contained in the monograph. The author recommends establishing a rule concerning the inclusion of the administrators of the organizations of union subordination in the makeup of the republic government. He states that that can have a positive influence upon the effectiveness of its coordinational and control functions. From our point of view, the introduction of this norm would violate the vertical subordination of the appropriate organizations. Finally, the author fails to take into consideration the norms in the currently effective constitutions of the union republic, in accordance with which the makeup of their governments can include only the administrators of the agencies and organizations of the particular republic.

If it were not for these errors, the book would have turned out to be more meaningful and more interesting.

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NATIONAL

KGB INVESTIGATES DISSIDENT FOR PROTESTS AGAINST AFGHAN WAR

Moscow LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA in Russian 18 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by I. Abakumov: "On the Track of a Werewolf--Moscow Chekists Render Harmless an Especially Dangerous State Criminal"]

[Text] Karaseva glanced out of habit at the return address on the letter and presumed that it was a bad April Fool's Day joke: The word "dissident" was painstakingly printed at the bottom of the envelope. The writing was clearly unnatural. None of her acquaintances or family members wrote with such methodically printed letters. "The little boys are apparently playing games," she thought, recalling the previous fad in which they had written notes "from The Phantom." She tore off the edge of the envelope and drew out a sheet of paper. Her look suddenly turned serious: on the sheet of paper was written in the same awkward letters a loathsome verse, which grossly distorted events in Afghanistan. Below that was an appeal for physical reprisals against the Communists. It was signed--Udavkin.

Her first thoughts: "Is it provocation? If so, then who is responsible for it? The postmark on the letter is Lyubertsy. I don't think I know anyone there. How did they get my address? What do they want? Whom was it intended for? My children"? A few seconds later indignation set in: "This filth coming to our house! Even so.... Who would come up with such a despicable thing? And why would they send it to us"?

All day long she kept asking herself that question but did not come up with the answer. And the next morning....

Another letter arrived the next morning. The evening mail brought a postcard as well. The mail was sent from various places, and the signatures also differed. The only things which did not change were the handwriting and the extremely anti-Soviet contents. Now she always went to the mailbox herself to protect the rest of the family against its noxious contents. The next day the woman went to the state security agencies for help.

It was clear even from the first lampooning letters and postcards turned over to Chekists [KGB Agents] by citizens and organizations

of Moscow and the oblast that the numerous pseudonyms were a cover for an active criminal, totally embittered against Soviet power and skillfully disguising himself. It was decided to begin an investigation immediately, and when Karaseva told with justified indignation about the "correspondence" she had received, state security workers were already making a careful study of all the different circumstances. There were many of these: the "drop" sites for the hostile letters were constantly changed. The postmarks were Moscow, Bushkino and then Moscow again, Mytishchi, and several times Lyubertsy.... More and more proof of the anonymous person's anti-Soviet activities came into the possession of the investigators each day, which would subsequently provide irrefutable proof in the case of the especially dangerous state crime.

From the very beginning the experts maintained that all of the texts were written by the same individual, despite substantial differences in the handwriting and the use of at least two different typewriters. A careful analysis of the vocabulary and style of the lampoons provided an approximate portrait of the criminal. He was around 50 years old, had a higher education, was hot-headed and secretive....

The long war waged by State Security Agency workers against internal and external enemies of our nation has resulted in the accumulation of extensive experience in exposing and disarming all sorts of intrigues aimed at weakening the socialist society. And that experience, including the latest achievements in criminology, was being put to full use.

Just who was he, though? Where was he hiding? Did he have accomplices helping him spread the items? The "drops" ranged over too great a distance within the short time. Only a carefully planned investigation could provide the answers to these questions.

It seemed most likely that the criminal lived somewhere near Moscow but worked in the capital. The State Security Agency workers worked days and nights, except for their days-off, and narrowed the area of the search. The criminal's routes of movement began to emerge as though on photographic paper. Even the typical "drop" time was "calculated," but... thousands of letters are dropped into mailboxes every hour. Just try to figure out who put in the lampoon.

An unexpected development abruptly advanced the investigation toward its objective. A yardman removing snow near one of the West German trade delegations discovered a cellophane package next to the firm's trash receptacle. The glue holding the package on the container had become unstuck because of the cold. The yardman unwrapped the cellophane and took out some typewritten pages....

"Dear 'German Wave'; In the last letter, sent 4 months ago... I sent greetings and asked you to report that you had received the letter... from the city of Klin near Moscow. I have not missed a single transmission during this time. My receiver is resistant to jamming...."

A second letter was addressed to Amnesty International. The type of the typewriter on which both "messages" were typed completely matched the samples

inspected in the investigation. The letter was accompanied by a hand-written note in German: "...please do not turn this over to the KGB...."

Who is who?

Amnesty International was created in 1961 at the initiative of British lawyer P. Benenson and is based in London. It has now been proven beyond question that the leadership of Amnesty International is totally supported by Western special services, primarily American. Hiding behind the false assertion that it is somehow "monitoring the observance of human rights," Amnesty International is one of the centers of ideological sabotage against the USSR. In addition to this, its emissaries gather intelligence.

So there was a "jamming-resistant receiver." This meant that the assumed higher education might perfectly well be in the field of radio engineering. A further study of newly received lampoons permitted the experts to conclude that the author had a criminal record. Possibly for anti-Soviet activities. A comparison of these and many other details, which previously formed an extremely fragmented picture, sharply focused the efforts of the investigators in the necessary direction, the only right direction. Within a short time the two typewriters had been found. They were at the central communications and radio navigation center of the RSFSR Ministry of the River Fleet. The experts concluded with certainty that these were the keys which had turned out part of the vile wave of slander, threats and despicable fomentation. The appeals to international anti-Soviet centers were also fabricated there. A few days later, in the lobby of the Wanda store, Georgiy Ivanovich Yermakov, a resident of the city of Lyubertsy, born in 1931 and previously sentenced, was caught red-handed preparing the next mailing of hostile literature. He was arrested without resistance.

He was so stunned by the speed and surprise of his "transfer" to the nearest police station, that he was unable even to drop the postcard and the pen. And he held on to them, until he regained his speech. His subsequent statements were rich in imagery, emotions and foul language. As a "sign of protest" he even went on a hunger-strike... from dinner to breakfast.

He rejected the role of the "innocent victim of authorities" after the first few interrogations. At first he would not sign the statements and he denied everything in the world. When the investigator calmly began to lay out the packages of lampoons on the table, however, Yermakov experienced his second shock. He could not have anticipated such a trap: almost all of his "works" were there. And every letter in that mountain of lies and slander was now evidence against him.

Yermakov began to produce... apologies for his "vague" answers, and to willingly confirm the already irrefutable facts surrounding his criminal activities of producing and disseminating anti-Soviet literature. It appeared repentence would not be long in coming. Yermakov tried to give every impression that this was so. The tall, stout man of 52 years sat before the investigator, his eyes guiltily downcast, exactly like a naughty schoolboy saying: "Forgive me!"

He now wrote in his real handwriting at the end of each interrogation report: "Once more, I ask the Soviet authorities to show leniency because of the

worthless state to which the circumstances of life have brought me. I was a patriot of my homeland, and I still am."

But this was only the usual game-playing with concepts dear to every Soviet individual. While in isolation during the investigation, Yermakov attempted to pass to acquaintances samples of the handwriting and the texts of his malicious verses. Someone else was writing them, he said, and he "was suffering without being guilty." He was unable to create an alibi. It was learned later that while he was still a free man, he had sent several lampoons by mail... to himself, just in case he should be arrested. From the plethora of methods for engaging in hostile propaganda and conspiratorial techniques it was clear that this was far from a dilettante.

He received his first lesson in anti-Sovietism back in the 1960's as a student at one of the Leningrad VUZ's, when he developed a great interest in Western radio broadcasts. The propaganda injections into his mind increased with each passing day, and unhealthy changes began to occur in his outlook on life. The "disease" progressed rapidly, and without noticing it Yermakov soon began thinking in "Voice of America" terms, repeating after it all of the slander and lies flooding over the airways into the socialist nations. He wanted to show off with "original, witty" anecdotes and with "his own" interpretation of events inside the nation and abroad, and he rapidly crossed over the line separating the independent, analytically thinking individual from a magnetic recorder capable only of reproducing other people's words, other people's feelings and emotions. This soon had a great effect upon his advancement and his world. Yermakov suddenly began feeling like a lonely failure for whom "life had not worked out." Neither his wedding, which took place soon thereafter, nor his good appointment at a scientific research institute, despite his poor progress, took him out of that mood. He continued listening to the "voices," which induced irreversible changes in the individual's morality. And then there began repeated attempts to defame everything connected with the socialist society. After that he sent subversive appeals of extraordinary cynicism and hostility to several organizations, the texts of which mainly consisted of broadcasts by the Western "voices," which he had recently heard. In 1974 the Leningrad Municipal Court sentenced Yermakov to 4 years in prison for perpetrating an especially dangerous state crime covered in Part 1, Article 70, of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda).

Who is who?

Amnesty International defends such "prisoners of conscience" as Bukovskiy, Gluzman and others. After being exiled from the USSR for engaging in active hostile activities, Bukovskiy tried to organize a series of terrorist acts against Soviet citizens. Gluzman was convicted of preparing and disseminating documents defaming the Soviet state structure.

At the places of his imprisonment Yermakov "learned" both several different handwritings and the basics of conspiracy. Gluzman, a former doctor who is still serving his sentence, also assured Yermakov that with his antipathetic appearance he could not account on advancement in the service or on success in

life under socialism. He should therefore take revenge. Against whom? Against everyone. They would help him.

For "we" read "West." Renegades have never enjoyed the support of their people. They have always been maintained by the enemy. A search of Yermakov turned up several addresses and telephone numbers of citizens of the FRG, to whom it was recommended he turn, should he need money....

It was natural that the investigator would doubt the sincerity of Yermakov's "self-flagellation" during the interrogation. Nonetheless, the degree of repentance had to be established. Soviet law is humane, especially with respect to those who have gone astray. The court therefore took into account the accused's desire to aid the investigation and his sincere admission of his errors. (Incidentally, articles of the criminal codes of other nations--the USA and Italy, for example--similar to that under which Yermakov was accused, call for far more severe punishment than that of the USSR). The investigator checked every detail which might have mitigated the punishment. For example, a long search was made for confirmation of Yermakov's story about how he had participated in the partisan movement in the Bryansk area. He had ostensibly helped Ana Morozova gather intelligence in the settlement of Seshcha, where the Facists had set up an airfield. And he had a scar, which was supposed to be from a mine fragment. Dozens of queries, weeks of waiting--negative answers. Yermakov's mother put the finishing touch on this "performance": He was not a partisan, and the scar on his head was from a boil he had had as a child. Other relatives confirmed this, and his "trick" failed. His "arsenal" was not exhausted, however: He dragged out the investigation even more by faking mental illness. Two months were spent on a thorough examination at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni V. B. Serbskiy. He was healthy.

...After being pardoned by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, which deemed it possible to reduce his punishment for his first conviction, Yermakov first went to Leningrad, where he became convinced that a reconciliation with his family was impossible. He was immediately offered a job in his field there, but he did not work long. He was discharged and went to Lyubertsy, to his old acquaintance Lidiya K. They married sometime later. Yermakov found a job in Moscow. He concealed his conviction both from his wife and from the administration by falsifying entries in his labor record. The new act of dishonesty produced a new nervousness. Afraid of being found out, he began to go from one job to another. At home he devoted all of his time to listening to Western radio stations, for which he once received an enraged reproof from his wife and her mother. The situation was repeated. At work he began to demand a raise and appointment to a higher position, but his demand was declined due to his poor qualifications.

His co-workers noticed that he began to stay after work and type something on a typewriter. They saw him write letters, covering them with his hand to keep others from seeing them, and saw him tune the service radio to the frequencies of the "voices." Workers in the personnel departments noticed the erasures, entries written over other entries, and corrections in the labor book, and they sometimes demanded information confirming his places of employment during

the period 1974-1977. They were not especially insistent, however. They simply did not attach any importance to these "petty" facts.

...While cleaning the apartment, Lidiya found among some papers a copy of the Leningrad Municipal Court's sentence. The secret was out. Yermakov made a scene and began behaving like a hooligan. He then abandoned her during a sudden bout with a serious illness. Sometime later he returned and settled in... the bathroom, where he set up his radio receiver, which he listened to at night with headphones. He no longer gave his wife money, He said that he was sending everything to his mother and his sick father. (From a talk with his mother, Ye. A. Yermakova: "I received 10 rubles from the city of Lyubertsy three times on the occasion of holidays or birthdays...").

...Yermakov walked around the streets of Moscow and Lyubertsy, carefully inspecting the bulletin boards. He was looking for yet another address, one more address to which he could send a half dozen or so postcards. He never saw the people to whom he sent his vile slander, the letters from the werewolf. Completely saturated with the unctious "voices", he was no longer capable of thinking or producing anything except slander and meanness, gnashing his teeth viciously. He no longer knew how to be kind, cheerful and charming, as his daughter remembered him. He was now donning his human face only as a mask, for a short time. It no longer fit him. The last time he smiled before his arrest was when he was visiting a woman, the mother of two children. Even there his now pathological anger came out, however. He told the children a fairy tale: "A man was walking along the street. A car stopped, and some people grabbed him and took him out of the city. They forced him to dig up a grave and remove the gold teeth from the person buried there. They left him in the grave...." When his new acquaintance asked him why he was telling the children such terrible things, he answered: "Let them learn things people don't write about...."

I leafed through the criminal file, page after page: records of interrogations, material evidence, queries, references, statements by numerous witnesses. Five volumes, now in the archives, in which are concentrated by days the entire story of a man who deprived himself of the joy of life, who attempted to besmear with his dirty paw that which is most sacred in the lives of others. A case of an especially dangerous state crime.

When he serves out his sentence, he will be 60 years old....

11499  
CSO: 1830/221

### 'PSYCHO-ECONOMICS' CALLED ON TO HELP IMPROVE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

[Editorial Report] Moscow OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 2 (Mar-Apr), 1984 carries on pages 72-84 a 3500-word article by A. I. Kitov, deputy director of the Scientific-Investigative Laboratory of the Academy of Economics of the USSR Council of Ministers, doctor of psychological sciences, professor and specialist in the psychology of management.

The first section of the article is a criticism of three narrow views of economics: the "technocentric" view (the apotheosis of mechanical devices and the mechanization of labor), the "econocentric" (preoccupation with labor indexes to the neglect of the subjective factors which play a vital role in economics), and the "sociocentric" (which considers the dependence of production on sociocultural factors like the psychological climate of the labor collective, the overvaluation of which can lead to such vices as consumerism, parasitism, social passivity, group egoism, etc). It ends with a plug for the "labor-centric" view of economics, or a kind of "personified-economic-reality" viewpoint which combines the positive elements of all of the above three positions.

The author advocates establishing a new interdisciplinary approach: the psychology of economics or "psycho-economics" though the present conceptual apparatus of psychology is little adapted to solving such basic questions as "what is the essence of the desire to produce more than one consumes?"

The object of study of psycho-economics will be the "core" of the individual's labor activity (a kind of hybrid of the objects of study of economics and psychology--"living labor" [zhivoy trud] and the activity core of the individual personality, respectively). Of all the varied aspects of an individual's traits, this "core of an individual's labor activity" has not yet attracted the psychologist's attention.

All of Marx's terms such as "living labor," "skill level," "human work force," "craftsmanship of the worker," "virtuosity of the worker," "value-creating substance"--all refer to the individual as an economic reality or, more precisely, as the object of psychological investigation in the interest of economics. This path of investigation should lead to practical recommendations for improving economic performance.

There follows an argument in favor of the interdisciplinary science of psycho-economics and a sketch of the areas of its focus. "In general there is no pro-

blem of economic life which does not merit the attention of psycho-economics." For example, the answer to the question as to what motivates factory directors to raise prices on their products should be sought in the field of psycho-economics. It should also help meet the challenge of automation in the workplace.

Combining economics with psychology should correct past mistakes and help establish a balanced approach in areas such as the professional orientation of young workers in accordance with their abilities. Here "abilities" are too often considered only with reference to special talents (mathematical, musical, athletic) involved in professions that do not contribute directly to production. These "virtuoso" abilities, important as they are, are not the same as the "ability to perform constant, conscientious labor within a specialty" needed in the overwhelming majority of mass professions.

Another topical problem for psycho-economics is the nature and extent of the influence of various forms of ownership of an individual's labor activity and on his social behavior. How to bring about in each citizen a feeling of co-ownership of, and consequently responsibility for socialist property is also a question of psycho-economics.

The list of tasks for psycho-economics could be extended to the areas of planning, functioning of the economic mechanism, stimulation of labor, etc.

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NATIONAL

PRAVDA READERS OFFER SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING NEWSPAPER

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 84 p 6

[Article: "Thank You for the Good Advice: A Reply to Our Readers"]

[Text] The editors have received more than 2,500 letters from readers in response to the invitation to take part in the "Pravda-84" dialogue. In 12 oblasts, krays and republics there have been 58 readers' conferences, which were attended by about 20,000 people. It can be stated that there has been a thorough exchange of opinions concerning the further improvement of the content and format of the newspaper.

The principal and determining objective in the work of Pravda has been and remains the mobilization of communists and all workers for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th session of the party and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1984 Pravda will devote great attention to the problems of the economy, to raising the productivity of labor, to strengthening the policy of economy, to carrying out the Food and Energy programs, and to large-scale economic experiments. "Emulation: The Power of Example," "By Complete Programs," "Large-Scale Experiment," "Let's Talk about Initiative" -- here is a sampling of rubrics of economic topics suggested by readers and accepted by the editors. Letters from M. Alekseyev, president of a kolkhoz in the Jurskaya Oblast, and V. Levykin, president of the council of a rayon agroindustrial association (RAPO) in the Tul'skaya Oblast, published at the end of 1983, began an exchange of views on the experience with RAPO's, on the effect of their influence on the development of agricultural production. Ahead are discussions on other problems as well. Also in prospect are new sessions of the "Business Meetings Club," at which it has become a tradition to discuss the most significant problems of the national economy.

In the spirit of the requirements enunciated by the Jure (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, much attention will be devoted to the elucidation of the pressing problems of ideological and mass-political work. At the center of Pravda's attention will be, as always, promotion of the ideas of scientific communism and interpretation of the ideological

and propagandistic work of the party. The well-known departments "Problems of Theory" and "Political Discussions" will help readers to understand more fully the theoretical problems of the present development, the traits and characteristics of mature socialism and the economic and social policy of the CP.

Many readers express a desire to have the newspaper provide broader coverage of the work of local party organizations and show more vividly the efforts of communists directed toward strengthening discipline and order in production and raising the level of the individual's sense of responsibility for the work that has been entrusted to him--be he worker or minister. In the "Party Life" section, headings reflecting these wishes will appear in 1984. The paper will devote greater attention to keeping tabs on the implementation of decisions and the effectiveness of critical articles.

Letters sent to the readers' department have provided much useful advice on how better to elucidate problems in the organization of marketing, of cultural, medical and everyday services to the population and protection of the environment. We are regularly asked to report on progress in implementing the social program of the five-year plan, to keep a close watch on fulfillment of the plans that have been laid out for increased production, improved quality and greater variety of consumer goods and to achieve an improvement in work in the whole area of services. These wishes also are taken into account in editorial plans.

The theme of communist education has always occupied an important place on the pages of the paper. It began to receive a more comprehensive and in-depth coverage after the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. However, as has been justly pointed out in a number of letters, much more remains to be done. Judging by the mail, the readers were pleased with the way the newspaper conducted in 1983 a discussion of the problems of strengthening the discipline and life of working collectives. This feature will be continued. The letters also include quite appropriate suggestions concerning the broadening of youth topics in Pravda and the necessity of giving increased attention to the preparation of materials for the military and patriotic education of Komsomol members and youth.

Judging by their comments, the readers like the sections known as "My Fatherland," "Time, People and Morality," "Competition: The Moral Significance," "The Artist and the Times" and "Working Youth." This year "The Young People's Page" (in an eight-page issue) is being added to them.

In connection with next year's 40th anniversary of the Victory it is proposed to publish more materials about unknown heroic pages of the Great Fatherland War. For this, the plan is to make extensive use of mail from our readers and letters preserved in the Manuscript Archives concerning experiences in the war.

Pravda daily receives from 1,500 to 2,000 letters. Its mail is a sensitive barometer of public opinion and a rich source of the thoughts, experience and initiative of the masses. The editors will try to make fuller and better use of your letters. As before we will regularly publish the sections "Letters from Our Readers" and "The People's Watch-dog Page," summaries of reports on measures taken in response to tips from the public, and articles and correspondence prepared on the basis of letters.

In the mail marked "Provda-84" there are suggestions for specific topics for articles, interesting people are named and locations where work experience has been gained are furnished. This part of the mail will be used extensively in the practical work of the correspondents. In particular, it provides the basis for the "Correspondence With Our Readers" section.

Pravda always strives to cover international life as extensively as possible. In the future as well it will propagandize the peace-loving foreign policy course of the CPSU and the experience of socialist construction in the fraternal nations and will report on the life of communist and workers' parties and the problems of the world communist movement. We must more convincingly unmask the reactionary nature of imperialism and show the scope of the struggle for peace and for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. In response to your wishes, attention to current international news has been increased.

The editors of Pravda sincerely thank all who participated in the "Pravda-84" readers' correspondence conference and all who send their letters to Pravda.

Thank you for the good advice.

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NATIONAL

NEW BOOK CONTRASTS APPROACHES TO NATIONALITIES QUESTION

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[Review by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof M. N. Rosenko of book "Natsional'nyy vopros v bor'be idey" [The Nationalities Question in the Ideological Struggle] by E. A. Bagramov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 336 pages]

[Text] Relations between the nationalities have always been the subject of intense ideological struggle. The exploitative essence of the capitalist social structure appears in the oppression and enslavement of some nations by others, in the aggravation of national antagonisms and in the presence of the nationalities question which cannot be solved within the framework of this structure. In particular, the political intensity and the theoretical and practical significance of the problem of nationalities increase in the period of the general crisis of capitalism when the national liberation struggle of the peoples appears as a constituent part of the fundamental revolutionary transformations. At the present time, as was stressed by the 26th Session of the CPSU, "imperialist circles think in terms of domination and compulsion in relation to other states and peoples" ("Materials from the 26th Session of the CPSU," Moscow, 1981, p 21).

In the book under review, a large amount of sociological and historical material has been brought together and a broad spectrum of nationalistic conceptions are analyzed from the coarsest forms (racism and chauvinism) to the different types of refined nationalism with emphasis on their widespread use by opportunists and right and "left" revisionism.

The author presents a deep analysis of the class essence and the political purposes of nationalism and lays bare the social and economic roots and the class and political nature of nationalist ideology. The application by the author of systematic and comparative historical methods is especially valuable; and this makes it possible to present in the book, firstly, a complete description of nationalism as the theory, ideology, policy, and practice of the upper monopoly bourgeoisie and, secondly, to indicate the special features of contemporary nationalism as distinct from previous stages of development of the bourgeois nationalistic ideology in connection with the evolution of capitalism as a social structure. The author gives a critical analysis of contemporary bourgeois nationalistic conceptions and stresses

the topicality of V. I. Lenin's position that "bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two irreconcilable and hostile slogans corresponding to the two main class camps...and express TWO policies (and more than that--two world views) in the nationalities question (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, v 24, p 123).

The starting point for the critical analysis of contemporary nationalistic conceptions is the scientific definition by the author of the nation as the historical community formed on the basis of a community of economic life, language, territory, cultural traits and spiritual character (see p 12). The Marxist-Leninist definition of the nation is opposed to the ideological interpretation derived from the cultural and psychological theories of B. Bauer and other bourgeois ideologists. The author analyzes contemporary bourgeois conceptions of the nation and uncovers their idealistic essence and shows that they consider the nation to be an eternal category which they reduce to a set of ethical factors isolated from social relations.

The book gives a comparative analysis of the various stages of development of bourgeois nationalism and explains its special features in contemporary society.

These special features are linked, first of all, to the new conditions of the struggle between two opposing social and economic systems and to the further development of the world revolutionary process. Contemporary bourgeois sociologists and political scientists, "for the most part, do not at the present time refer to race and blood as did their predecessors who represented zoological racism, but make use of a more 'psychological' language. However, the objective significance of this type of 'basis' for ineradicable international conflicts has not changed" (p 37). At the present time, the struggle between the two world views on the nationalities question remains unchanged as to its political and ideological essence but takes place under the conditions of the new realignment of class and political forces in the international arena in favor of the forces of socialism and under the conditions of the changed social content of the nationalities question in the different regions.

Bourgeois sociologists in attempts to find more convincing theoretical arguments intended to give a foundation for nationalism attempt to use the sphere of the peoples' cultural life. In this case, they distort the real world historical tendencies towards internationalism of the entire life of the society. In the study of this subject, there is detailed consideration of most of the cultures in the contemporary world and the development of world culture in its unity and contradictions caused by social class polarizations and by the complex interaction of the national and international social alignments in this sphere.

The book gives a good deal of attention to the analysis of national alignments in developed capitalist countries. The intensification in the action of world historical tendencies towards internationalization of the economy and all social life "generates a set of new events in national relations

which should be evaluated. First of all, this concerns the effects of the cosmopolitan efforts of international capital on national life" (p 111). A qualitatively new stage in the concentration of production and capital leads to an intensification of the process of unification of the economies of the different capitalist countries, the development of elements of unified international reproduction and the creation of an overall economic structure for the countries participating in the international process. The realization of this tendency in the privately owned and antagonistic base of the capitalist society is accompanied by continuous economic and social shocks. The activity of integrating institutions such as the European Common Market, the European Parliament, NATO, etc., indicates that the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is intensifying both interstate conflicts and the contradictions between the nationalities within the capitalist states. The book considers programs and other political documents of the communist parties of the capitalist countries connected with the development of party strategy and tactics for liberation movements.

Of special interest is the analysis of the problem of imperialistic globalism and European unity which serve as theoretical bases for imperialistic exploitation. The author reveals the class roots of racism and brings out its essence. Much attention is given to the exposure of different forms of racism such as Zionism and antisemitism. It is characteristic for the ideologies of racism to attempt to conceal the social and class content of the "race problem."

Capitalism was not capable of solving the nationalities question as well as other important social problems. Reality shows that as capitalist society evolves, the intensity of national contradictions increases and their solution must be linked to the development of the peoples' liberation movement. Only socialism, by liquidating the social and economic bases of national oppression and the exploitation of some peoples by others, creates the conditions for the solution of the nationalities question in all its aspects.

The author brings out the principles of the nationalities policy of the CPSU under the conditions of developed socialism and writes that the formation of the Soviet people, a new historical community, clearly characterizes the international essence of socialism as a social structure. Relations among the socialist countries are becoming increasingly close, not only within the USSR, but also within the framework of worldwide socialist friendship. The main tendency in the development of the nations is that they are becoming increasingly close while each is in a generally flourishing state. Discussing the future transition from a group of nations and nationalities to a unified humanity, the author writes that "societies of this kind will probably also rise in other regions of the world and only after a long development of this type of international society based upon communism, when the new structure is firmly established on the scale of the entire world, will the fusion of nations in the real sense take place, as was predicted by V. I. Lenin, and this will be completed by the obliteration of national differences and the withering away of the state" (pp 242-243).

There are several remarks which can be made to the author. When stressing the leading role of nationalism in the system of anticomunism it should have been noted that the danger of nationalism is not only in the fact that it is the main trend of bourgeois ideology, but also that it penetrates into other bourgeois sociological conceptions. On p 182, the concept "neo-nationalism" is used. It would be of interest to the reader to know how broad its limits are and what enters into its content in addition to the idea of European unity.

The work of E. A. Bagramov is an important step in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory of the relations of nationalities and in the solution of the problem of activating the struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideology.

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VAYNO ADDRESS AT ESTONIAN CC CP PLENUM

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[Address at the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia [ECP] in Tallinn, 17 January 1984: "The Results of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization That Evolve from the Plenum Decisions and the Principles and Conclusions Contained in the Statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov: Address by CPSU Central Committee member, 1st Secretary of the ECP Central Committee, Comrade K. G. Vayno"]

[Text] Comrades! We have entered the fourth year of the five-year plan and we are now located at a critical, decisive stage in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Our party is persistently striving to carry out the important, key economic, social, and ideological tasks that correspond to the vital needs of the further improvement of our socialist society under the conditions of the aggravated international situation, which is the fault of the imperialistic circles. We are engaged in a fundamental reorganization of the entire economy, directing it toward intensive development in order to make better use of the accumulated production potential and the material and labor resources, to satisfy more completely the increased demands of the public, and to reinforce even more the might and defense capability of our Motherland.

The regular Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that was held on 26-27 December 1983 has become a new brilliant landmark in this strategic area. The text of the statement made by General Secretary of the party's Central Committee Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov predetermined the businesslike, creative atmosphere for the discussion of the key questions in the national economy. This fundamentally important document provides a thorough analysis of the status of our country's economy and the carrying out of the steps that were undertaken to improve the economic mechanism. That document concentrates attention on the most vital questions, the resolution of which will determine both the fulfillment of the 1984 plans and the rates of economic and social development in the future. The statement by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov has armed the party, the Soviet and economic agencies, the public organizations, and the labor collectives with a concrete program for actions.

The December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee completely supported the profound evaluations and conclusions contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statement which dealt with the basic areas of the further development of the national economy, and approved the draft versions of the State Plan for the country's economic and social development and its budget in 1984. Both these documents were then discussed and accepted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, thus becoming for all of us the law, the basis of practical work in the year that has begun.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was conducted in an atmosphere of solidarity and unity. It completely approved the firm, well-principled course taken by the Politburo of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, which course is aimed at raising the level of management and at reinforcing everywhere and in everything organizational spirit, discipline, and order, and high demandingness and responsibility for the assigned job. It was noted that, under the beneficial influence of the decisions of the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, there has been a noticeable increase in the rate of labor and social-political activity by Soviet citizens. As a result one has noted obvious positive tendencies in the development of our country's national economy and an acceleration of the increase in social production. All the basic economic indicators for 1983 are considerably higher than during the first years of the five-year plan. Things went better in industry, in transportation, and in construction. There was also an increase in the production of agricultural output.

But at the same time, and this was emphasized at the Plenum, it would be incorrect to overestimate that which was achieved. The positive turning point in the economic tendencies has, as yet, affected the deeply underlying processes very little. In a number of sectors of the national economy there continue to be serious shortcomings that are restraining our forward movement.

We have ahead of us a large amount of complicated work to improve the entire economic mechanism, to make the better use of the already created production and scientific-technical potential, and to intensify the methods and means to economize raw materials, energy, and labor resources. It is also important to maintain the tempo and businesslike mood that have been built up and to develop the positive tendencies even more.

I would like to permit myself to recall the basic specific tasks that were posed in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statement at the Central Committee Plenum. First, there is the task of guaranteeing the unconditional fulfillment, by every branch, by every labor collectives, of the planned assignments for the year, the task of using all the opportunities for overfulfilling them. Secondly, the task of achieving an above-plan increase in labor productivity by at least one percent and of reducing the production costs by half a percent, viewing this as an additional party assignment to the plan. Thirdly, the task of devoting special attention to raising the national standard of living, to increasing the real income per capita of population, and to saturating the market with the necessary manufactured commodities and foodstuffs. Fourthly, the task of increasing the activity rate in the work of improving the management of the economy, in order to enter the 12th Five-Year Plan with a well-adjusted economic mechanism.

From these high positions of demandingness and realism we shall be discussing today the tasks of the republic's party organization in implementing the decisions of the December Plenum, in fulfilling the planned assignments of the fiscal year that has begun, and in reaching the final goals of the five-year plan.

Three years of the 11th Five-Year Plan are behind us. And so it would probably be appropriate here to sum up their results briefly, to weigh our pluses and minuses.

As is the situation for the country as a whole, the situation in our republic is distinguished by a businesslike attitude, by a good labor mood. Strenuous work is in progress both in the city and in the countryside. We have moved noticeably ahead in all areas of economic construction.

The volume of industrial production increased during the past three years by 7.7 percent, which exceeds the five-year plan assignment by almost one percent. With regard to the production of the majority of the most important types of industrial output, we have achieved a level that was stipulated by the five-year plan. The highest increase in production occurred last year -- 3.6 percent -- which is a whole percentage point higher than the planned figure. Moreover, the entire increase was assured by increasing labor productivity, even with a slight reduction in the number of workers.

Agriculture also developed successfully in 1983. The republic overfulfilled the plans for purchases of practically all the basic types of output. And, for the first time in recent years, we coped successfully with the sale to the state of all the output of animal husbandry.

Transportation also began to operate on a more stable basis. There was an 8.3 percent increase during the three years in the freight turnover of rail transportation, which considerably exceeds the planned indicator. The 1983 plan was fulfilled by motor, air, and ocean transport.

In 1983 we used 6 percent more capital investments than during the previous year, and activated fixed assets with a total value of 765 million rubles. The plan for activation of housing, kindergartens and nurseries, hospitals, and polyclinics was fulfilled. And housing construction in the republic is developing at a rate that exceeds the assignments of the five-year plan.

The public's monetary income has increased. The annual plans for commodity turnover and the providing of personal services have been fulfilled.

In a word, the tendencies that currently predominate in our republic's economy are positive ones. The economy is developing, as a whole, dynamically. And this attests to the large amount of organizing work to implement the principles stated at the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which were aimed at improving the socialist management, at increasing the responsibility borne by the personnel, and at reinforcing the state and labor discipline. Last year's results also indicate that our economy has considerable reserves, that we are physically and mentally able to use them, to resolve the critically important tasks that are linked with the changeover of the national economy to

the path of intensive development. That is what our republic has carried into 1984. Now it is extremely important to preserve everything that is positive that we have achieved, to maintain the rates that have been established, to maintain the white-hot fever, and to continue to improve the administration of the economy.

The draft versions of the republic's plan and budget for 1984 which have been submitted for consideration by today's plenum, in general, correspond to these tasks. They were previously considered at the Buro of the ECP Central Committee. Both the plan and the budget are aimed at the further increase in the effectiveness of production. They are economically well-substantiated and completely feasible, and one can ask for their fulfillment with all rigidity, without any rebates for various difficulties.

We are well aware that we also have definite complications and shortcomings that are retarding our development. But difficulties exist so that we can overcome them. They are not so terrible if we see them, if we work constantly on them, if we decisively eliminate the causes of them. And so it is now necessary for us to take into better consideration all the vulnerable items in the plan and, in the process of fulfilling it, search for additional reserves in order to guarantee the stable operation of the branches and enterprises.

Let us take a look at what methods we will use to fulfill concretely the party-wide task that has been posed by the December Plenum — the task of raising the labor productivity by one percent as compared with the plan and of reducing production costs by a half-percent.

Let us take industry. Labor productivity in that branch during 1981-1983 rose by 7.8 percent, thus exceeding the assignments for the five-year plan. Most of the ministries and departments, associations, and enterprises are coping with the plans for increase in labor productivity. Everything would seem to be going well. But if one looks deeper, the picture does not look so optimistic. First of all, all the enterprises are not fulfilling the plans for labor productivity. For example, last year, at 18 enterprises the labor productivity fell and five enterprises failed to fulfill the plan. And there is more. With the overall overfulfillment of the plans for the three years, we did not have a one-percent increase on the average for those years, as the task is posed today. If they did not prevail for the republic's industry as a whole, then it also did not prevail in many of the associations and enterprises.

Computations indicate that in order to obtain this year a one-percent increase in labor productivity in excess of plan, we have to produce additional output valued at no less than 57 million rubles of manufactured goods. And this must be not simply rubles, but also the output that the country needs, primarily commodities for the people. As has been indicated by last year's experience, this task can be fulfilled.

Now let us take agriculture. Since the beginning of the five-year plan the entire increase in output in agriculture was achieved by means of an increase in labor productivity. But there are still large reserves for increasing it. The picture is very spotty when considered by individual years. And the largest differences, even threefold ones, are observed among farms.

As a whole, in order to increase labor productivity in agriculture by one percent in 1984 as compared with the plan, it is necessary to produce additional output with a total value of 10 million rubles. Under our conditions this is realistic, with an average of 30,000-35,000 rubles per farm. If those figures are expressed in physical terms, that means that, as compared with the achieved level, it will necessary to increase the harvest yield of the land being used and to obtain from each hectare 50-60 fodder units more. The average annual milk yield per cow must increase by approximately 50 kilograms, and the turnover weight of cattle, by no less than 5 kilograms.

And this is what the situation is in construction. Last year every third contract organization failed to fulfill the planned assignments for increase in labor productivity. If one adds to that the fact that in our construction organizations there is chronically a lack of personnel, the question of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans for labor productivity takes on very great importance. It will be necessary for our economic, party, and public organizations to do an especially large amount of specific work in this area. Especially since the reserves in this branch are greater than anywhere else.

One percent of increase in the planned growth of labor productivity must, of course, also be assured in transportation, construction, trade, the communal economy, and in personal-services enterprises, that is, in all branches of the service sphere, where the task of doing more with a smaller number of people is an especially important one.

As you can see, comrades, the task of obtaining one percent of additional increase in labor productivity is a tremendous and by no means simple one. What is needed here is to bring into action the entire arsenal of means of organization and management. Of course, every branch has its own specific nature, but the ways to achieve the goal are, in general, the same for all of them. They are the rise in the technical level of production and the better use of the available capacities, the improvement of the organization of labor and production at all levels, the improvement of material-technical supply, and the further reinforcement of discipline in the broad sense of the word.

It is necessary for us to accelerate in every way the replacement of obsolete and obsolescent equipment. We sometimes make poor use of the allocated financial limits for the purchase of technology. We also have large balances of uninstalled equipment. It is necessary to pay more attention to the better use of machinery and machine tools. Last year in our republic only every other automatic and mechanized flow line operated at the level of the planned productivity. There is still a low level of use of equipment for the production of paper, sulfuric acid, electric motors, outer knitwear, and a number of food products.

One also observes a tendency to reduction in the coefficient of shift-use of equipment. Most branches have not been devoting the proper attention to such an important matter as the attainment of the planned labor-intensity of output.

Against a background of the overall improvement of material-technical supply, we have the right to make more rigid demands upon the precise operation of all

links in the supply service. One still encounters frequent instances of the tardy and imprecise filling out of production orders, and the improper submittal of the necessary documentation. It sometimes happens that the materials that have already been received lie around in the warehouses while awaiting delivery to the work site. All this leads to interruptions in production and to losses of work time.

And, in general, it is necessary to pay considerably more attention to reducing the losses of work time. Those losses are rather large. The idle-time periods between shifts are being reduced slowly. One still observes the continuation of the practice of taking workers away from the job in order to have them carry out all kinds of mass measures during work time. There continues to be a considerable share of services in trade, personal services, the communal economy, and also the visits of citizens to state institutions that are carried out during work time. In a word, the questions of order and discipline on the job and in other spheres continue to be vitally important. And we must not allow this matter to resolve itself. We spoke about this in the most thoroughly principled manner recently at an expanded session of the Buro of the Central Committee. The slogan "Work time is for work!" must become an immutable rule.

Tremendous potential opportunities for increasing labor productivity can be found in the brigade form of work. Recently we have increased the amount of work aimed at the creation of a new type of brigade. Changes are also occurring in the traditional brigades that already exist. At the present time the republic has approximately 17,000 brigades, in which more than half of all the workers have been united. Thus, the collective forms of the organization of labor are becoming the leading ones.

But one should not yet be lulled by the "involvement" figures. What we need is not simply brigades as such. It is important, by means of these primary links in the labor collective, to make more complete use of the reserves for increasing productivity, and to resolve many of the questions of planning, quota establishment, and organization of labor, the raising of the proficiency level, and the reinforcing of labor discipline.

And we have such examples. For example, the cleaning face brigade at the Akhtme Mine that is led by Hero of Socialist Labor Vasiliy Ivanov works, as the expression goes, not by number, but by ability. A brigade with a smaller composition increased the work load at the face. All its members possess related specialties, make effective use of the mine equipment, and work in a well-disciplined and precise manner. During the year that brigade increased the labor productivity by 5.5 percent and reduced the production costs of the mined shale by more than 10 percent.

But in most of the brigades, their potential is being used incompletely. Frequently there is a formal application of the labor-participation coefficient, and the number of complete-operation brigades operating on cost-accounting principles is still extremely low. This attests to the fact that in the race for quantity one frequently fails to devote attention to the qualitative aspect, to working out, with the participation of the engineering and economic

services, the entire series of measures for providing material-technical support, for the establishment of labor quotas, or to other vitally important questions in the work of the brigades.

The creation of a new type of brigade is a matter that is by no means simple. It requires careful preparation. First of all, it is necessary to analyze the qualitative makeup of the brigade leaders, since the brigade leader is the chief figure on the job. It has become vitally necessary to carry out the certification of the brigade leaders, to organize their training, to supplement their knowledge about their occupation, and to give them information concerning specific economics, psychology, pedagogics, and the administration of production. This must be done on the basis of occupational-trade schools, where we have skilled instructor staffs and the necessary methodological material. Incidentally, it would be desirable to make the organizing and coordinating of this work the responsibility of the republic's Goskomtrud.

Time is going by and it is necessary to think about a reserve of brigade leaders. It would be correct to seek replacements for the veterans among the graduates of the occupational-trade schools and technicums who have proved their abilities on the job and have demonstrated that they have organizing capabilities.

We should also raise more boldly the questions of including engineer-technical workers as part of the large-scale brigades, especially the combined ones. We have in mind the providing of the more skillful development of the quota lists for the expenditure of all types of resources, the better assimilation of the new technology and technological processes, and the introduction of advanced experience. Engineering support promises a considerable increase in labor productivity and a reduction in production costs, the improvement in the quality of output, and the reduction of manual labor.

And now let us consider what opportunities we have at our disposal for reducing the production costs by a half-percent as compared to the plan.

If one takes the entire sphere of material production, that means that it is necessary to obtain an additional profit of 35 million rubles, including 27 million rubles for industry and more than 5 million rubles for agriculture.

Production costs are closely related to labor productivity. An increase in individual output by one percent produces a reduction of 0.1 percent in the production costs, inasmuch as there is no longer a need to bring in additional material resources. Where, then, can we get the remaining four-tenths of a percent in order to fulfill the task that has been posed?

In every ruble of commercial output of industry there is currently included a material expenditure of 67 kopecks. This reveals the basic way to reduce production costs -- the reduction of the material-intensity and energy-intensity of output. Tremendous opportunities for this exist at every enterprise and sector and at every work location.

Last year, as you know, the plans at industrial enterprises were augmented by financial limits for material expenditures for the production of output and

by deductions to be paid into funds to encourage their reduction. That measure had a definite effect, but it must be admitted that our quotas for the expenditure of materials are still too casual.

Shortcomings in quota establishment and poor supervision of the expenditure of materials create a soil for the squandering of resources and even abuses. During the first 9 months of 1983 alone, 13 associations and enterprises allowed the production costs of commercial output to rise by 7 million rubles. The unproductive expenditures, shortcomings, and losses, according to a preliminary estimate, last year exceeded 1.5 million rubles. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of rubles were included in production costs in the form of penalties for the tardy delivery of output. These and other facts allow us to conclude that the indicator of production costs is not yet being taken into proper consideration by many economic planners.

Not all the enterprises have established a system whereby the fulfillment of the established plans for production costs and the reduction of the maximum level of material expenditures is linked with the providing of incentives to the labor collectives. For example, in the Ministry of Local Industry, a procedure has not yet been worked out to form funds for the providing of material incentives based on the economizing of expenditures.

A substantial reduction of material expenditures can be obtained from the broader application of technological processes resulting in small amounts of waste products, the introduction of various technical innovations, the replacement of expensive materials by more economical and more accessible ones with no detriment to quality, the involvement in production of the balances of raw and other materials that are in excess of quotas, and the intelligent maneuvering of those balances.

Serious shortcomings exist in the use of fuel and energy resources. The measures that have been developed to economize them have not yet been yielding the proper return. Last year the assignments for the economizing of electrical energy were not fulfilled by Minlegprom, Minstroy, Minavtoshosdor, and Estonslanets.

Something else that can provide a considerable benefit is the reduction of transportation costs, the share of which in the value of the output exceeds 10 percent. The resolution of this problem lies in the better use of the rolling stock, the development of optimal freight-flow schemes, and the precluding of shipments going in opposite directions. It must be admitted that during the first three years of the five-year plan we did not move far ahead in this direction, and we continue to observe in the planning and organizing of shipments the predominance of departmental interests.

The production costs are also influenced by the correlation between wages and labor productivity. In this area we had serious discrepancies at the beginning of the five-year plan. For example, in 1982 labor productivity in industry increased by only 1.2 percent, but wages increased by 2.2 percent. And the gap was even greater in many construction organizations. Overexpenditures of the wage fund were considered to be quite natural. Ministries frequently took a light-hearted approach in dealing with the requests from enterprises to allow the wages to get ahead of labor productivity.

As you can see, comrades, the question of increasing labor productivity and reducing production costs is an involved question that includes a large number of technical and organizational factors. The chief factor currently in the activities of the party, trade-union, and economic organizations, ministries, associations, and enterprises is to isolate the most important tasks and to concentrate the efforts in their resolution. This work will not tolerate a stereotypic approach, or purely arithmetical actions. What is needed is a differentiated approach, the consideration of the specific opportunities and conditions.

Thus, we have currently named our goals for increasing labor productivity by one percent and reducing production costs by a half-percent, and have also defined the basic ways of attaining those goals. The same goals, the same specific figures, must be present at every ministry and department, in every city and rayon, in every association and enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhoz. And for many labor collectives the goal of one percent and half a percent is not the limit. Those collectives can also achieve more than that. The ministries and departments must definite the specific ways to resolve this important task for every enterprise and organization. They must render assistance to the labor collectives in the development of counter plans, and the development of precise measures that guarantee the attainment of the assigned goals, directing special attention to the state of affairs in those collectives which have not yet copied with their assignments for the increase of labor productivity and the reduction of production costs. And the party's city and rayon committees, and the branch departments of the Central Committee, are required to establish strict supervision of all this important work.

What opens up here is a broad field of activity also for Gosplan, Goskomtrud, Minfin, Gossnab, and the banks. They are required to improve the planning, supply, and financing, and to remove the existing bottlenecks as rapidly as possible, thus promoting the more effective resolution of these questions at the level of the republic's national economy. For example, Gosplan and Gossnab, instead of putting these matters "on the back burner," must engage seriously in reducing the counter shipments and inefficient shipments in the republic. For example, an increase in the consumption in electrical energy at Saaremaa and Khiyumaa in agricultural production and the housing-and-communal economy would make it possible to reduce the need to bring in petroleum products there, to reduce the transportation expenses and losses, and to reduce the final expenditures. Gosplan and Goskomtrud must intensify their supervision of the rate of implementation in the ministries, associations, and enterprises of the measures that were stipulated in comprehensive target program that was developed in the republic for increasing labor productivity in industry and construction.

The measures for providing economic incentives to the collectives at enterprises have not yet been working properly for us, and as a result the same situation prevails in the system of assuring the material self-interestedness of workers, which is aimed at the overfulfillment of the planned rates of increase in labor productivity and the reduction of production costs.

Gosplan, Minfin, and Goskomtrud, with the participation of Sovprof, should attentively consider the existing practice of providing incentives for the

overfulfillment of assignments for the increase in labor productivity and the reduction of production costs, and should make their recommendations for improving that practice to the republic's Council of Ministers.

We are still making by no means complete use of such powerful levers for affecting the lowering of production costs as the quota method of distribution of profit; the system of progressive norms and quotas for energy resources and raw and other materials; or the indicator of normative-net output.

The Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and Minfin must carry out more actively the work of introducing these measures into the republic's economic mechanism. It is time to make the transition from talking about the need to introduce effective cost accounting, and to carry out specific actions.

In the final analysis the fulfillment of the decisions of the December Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the fate of our plans, depend upon the extent to which they will be explained to the workers, the way that they will be brought down to the level of the specific tasks, and the extent to which they will find their embodiment in the socialist pledges taken by the enterprises, brigades, and the individual workers in the city and the countryside. In the labor competition which currently is being carried out broadly in the republic, the qualitative indicators of management are being brought forward more and more. And that is correct. It is just that the new indicators require a more thorough economic elaboration. It is important for people to see the realistic ways to increase labor productivity, to reduce production costs, to save materials, to increase the profit, and to improve the quality of output.

As was already stated, last year our republic's agroindustrial complex had rather good results. There were record-breaking milk yields and good weight increases for livestock being fattened. The milk yield per cow came to an average of 3701 kilograms, and the turnover weight of cattle and hogs was, respectively, 430 and 106 kilograms. That made it possible to increase considerably the production of milk and meat and to reduce somewhat the lag behind the five-year plan and the Food Program that had formed in previous years. Nevertheless, for meat our minus constitutes 55,000 tons and for milk, 133,000 tons.

This year the purchases plan stipulates the sale to the state of 262,000 tons of meat and 1,160,000 tons of milk. The increase as compared with the achieved level last year is, thus, for meat, 3 percent; and for milk, only one percent. This is a realistic plan for practically every farm, for every rayon. And we are completely capable of giving ourselves a more strenuous task: the overfulfillment of the annual plan for sale of milk to the state by 2 percent, thus making it possible for the republic to reach the level of the five-year plan.

The situation is more complicated with meat. In order to come on a par with the five-year plan, the increase in purchases of livestock and poultry must be guaranteed within the limits of 10 percent. This is a very complicated task, but nevertheless it is not hopeless. We have on our side the 19-percent acceleration that we gained last year, the accumulated experience, the more stable fodder base and, of no small importance, the good working mood of the animal husbandrymen, their self-confidence about their strengths and their

capabilities. In a word, we can pose this target for ourselves: both for milk and for meat we should strive to hit the goals stipulated by the five-year plan for 1984.

Our kolkhozes and sovkhozes began the livestock wintering-over process with good fodder reserves. They have everything that they need to complete the winter period with results that are considerably better than a year ago, and to get large weight increases and milk yields. And if, in a few places, we fail to see that improvement, if the fodders are used unskillfully, and if losses and a reduction in the quality of the fodders are allowed to occur, then people should be required to give the most rigid accounting for that. Our task currently is to guarantee, by the time the livestock go out onto the summer pastures, a reliable backlog in productivity, in order to develop the success with inexpensive fodders.

Probably all the comrades will agree that in our agriculture, and especially for the agroindustrial complex as a whole, there are still a lot of unused growth reserves. They can easily be spotted if we take a critical approach to the evaluation of the work that has been done, if we learn lessons from last year's experience.

The first thing on which we should dwell is the use of production potential. Last year, as everyone knows, the weather conditions favored the development of most of the crops, and during the harvesting period they were simply ideal -- better than they had been in recent years. And we make sufficient use of that natural factor. Nevertheless, the sowing of spring grain crops stretched out for 23 days, and only two-thirds of the areas were sown during the optimal periods. The planting of vegetable crops also stretched out considerably, and if there had not been a long, warm autumn that compensated for the incomplete work during the springtime, the situation with vegetables could have proved to be extremely complicated. The harvesting of grain crops also took a long time: 34 calendar days instead of the optimal 20. During the reaping period, combines stood idle for almost 5400 machine-days. That is equivalent to a situation in which almost 270 combines, which could have harvested 30,000 hectares of grain crops, had not participated in the harvesting. But that would have made it possible to reduce the harvesting periods by at least 5 days and to reduce the harvesting losses substantially. The total idle time of the tractor pool also remains impressive: 110,000 tractor-days, and that is equivalent to the situation if 600 tractors had not been used at all last year.

The reasons for the equipment idle time lie in the shortage of mechanizers, the poor quality of the repair, and the tardy technical maintenance. But the chief reasons, which account for more than half the total idle time, is organizational squabbles, poor discipline, and insufficient demandingness. All this costs us dearly. Scientists assert that every year, as a result of delays in the harvesting of hay, we lose as much protein as would be needed to produce 190,000 tons of milk. If all the grass fodders were harvested in the phase of the greatest protein content, we could produce 20 percent more of it than we do at the present time. That is what it means to fulfill the necessary operations promptly, and our advanced farms prove that by their practical experience every year.

The second thing that attention should be devoted to is the preservation of the young animals. True, animal deaths in our republic have dropped as compared with the previous years, but nevertheless the losses from those deaths are still rather large. This attests to a reduction in the demandingness toward the maintenance of elementary zooveterinarian procedures on certain animal farms. And frequently the persons who are guilty of this do not bear any material responsibility for their actions, or, if they do bear that responsibility, the initiative usually comes from the agencies of the procurator's office, rather than from the administrators of the farms.

Thirdly, incomplete use is being made of the potential in the rural plots. Although last year there was a considerable increase -- almost 80 percent -- in the purchases of livestock from the public and an increase of 6 percent in the purchases of milk, as well as an increase in the procurements of potatoes and vegetables, the personal plots can yield still more. And the reason, strange as it seems, sometimes lies in the poor organization of the purchases of surplus fruits and berries, small livestock, and poultry. The network of procurement-acceptance stations in the rural areas and close to orchard cooperatives is insufficiently developed. How otherwise can one explain the fact that last year's plan for the procurement of fruits and berries -- which was determined at a total of 19,000 tons -- proved again to be unfulfilled. And yet the year was a very lavish one with regard to berries and fruits. Their gross harvest was estimated at 60,000-65,000 tons, that is, exceeded the procurement plan by more than 3 times. How can this happen, Comrades Madik, Myannik, and Laos? People complain that no one wants to accept from them the harvest that has been grown, at a time when there is a small quantity of apples, stewed fruits, jam, and preserves on sale. All this valuable produce now is being basically shipped outside the confines of the republic. This is poor business practice, an abnormal situation, but the strangest thing is that the procurement organizations and the executive committees of the local Soviet, for some reason, have become reconciled to it.

The number of head of sheep has begun to increase among the population. Many people raise rabbits and nutrias. But, once again, a large number of misunderstandings arise when they are sold. There has not yet been any resolution of the question of processing the hides, especially sheepskins. If we continue to take this approach to the matter and complicate the questions that are extremely simple, it will be easy to knock out of people any desire to engage in orchard-growing, the raising of animals, or vegetable gardening.

It would seem that the ERSPO [Estonian Republic Union of Consumers Societies], as well as the farms themselves, are obliged to manifest the maximum amount of initiative here. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes could assume the establishment of subsidiary farms and businesses for the processing of the surplus agricultural output that has been produced not only by the public, but also in the social sector. This is a beneficial job. It is beneficial for the farms and for the state. We will obtain from this a large amount of freedom in maneuvering our capacities for the processing of agricultural produce, and, in the final analysis, the food on our table will become richer, and the additional reserves will contribute to the Food Program.

To no small degree the final results of production are influenced by the resolution of the social problems in the rural areas. At the present time they

have begun to be resolved in a more purposeful manner. But by no means everything has been done so far. Serious shortcomings exist in the organizing of individual housing construction. With regard to that question it was necessary to enact a decree by the Buro of the ECP Central Committee, in which provision was made for measures to assure the more rapid renovation and increase in the housing fund in rural areas, to develop the construction of farmstead-type housing with the involvement of the public's funds, and to increase the production of building materials for sale to individual homebuilders.

It has become vitally necessary to resolve as rapidly as possible other questions involving the services provided to the rural population. On each farm, in each village Soviet there is the opportunity to organize the carrying out of small-scale operations and services, to expand the services provided at home. In our villages there is still practically a total lack of such types of services as plumbing, furnace, and electrical operations. We are building a lot of new housing, and yet the old buildings are becoming dilapidated. Their owners, especially elderly people, are incapable of repairing them. It's necessary to help them. First of all, this must be done by the farms themselves. In addition, the Ministry of Personal Services should also largely improve the services provided to the rural population in this regard.

Some comrades assume that the problem of the shortage of animal-husbandry and mechanizer cadres in rural areas can be resolved simply by the building of housing. I'm afraid that the situation is not that way at all. Of course people cannot get along without housing. Who would argue with that? But, in addition to housing, it is necessary to create an entire infrastructure, to create normal conditions for work and for recreation, for raising children, and for providing trade services. Otherwise it might turn out that the farms will have in their hands the keys to apartments, but they will be unable to find any workers. Incidentally, such situations already exist.

Something that is increasingly become our weak link in the development of the agroindustrial complex is the processing of livestock. Last year the meat processing plants had difficulty coping with the increased volumes of operations involved in the acceptance of livestock. There turned out to be a serious lack of conformity between the capacities of the processing shops and the refrigerators. This year there is an opportunity to take some of the load off Tallinn Refrigerator Plant No. 1, by using the new refrigeration capacities at the Pyarnu Meat Processing Plant and the Saaremaa Meat and Dairy Association. It is necessary within the planned deadlines to fulfill the operations of re-equipping an additional refrigerator chamber at the Vykhma Processing Plant for the freezing of meat products. It is possible to make better use of the opportunities at the Valga Canned-Meat Processing Plant by organizing double-shift operation.

But all these are temporary measures. The republic's Council of Ministers, jointly with the union ministry, must begin immediately to find a comprehensive resolution of the problem. It has become vitally necessary to remodel a number of enterprises in the meat and dairy industry. It is necessary to carry out more persistently the training of the young worker replacements, and to improve the working conditions. The entire system of processing of milk and meat must develop at rates that keep up with the rates of production growth. Otherwise that system will become a stumbling block on our path and we will have to pay dearly for it.

Our strategic line for the development of agriculture is clear — it is intensification: the further increase in livestock productivity and the return on every hectare of field. And, resolving our current tasks, we have to go, step by step, ahead along this path. All the head of cattle in the republic are of pedigree stock and are capable of producing 4500-5000 kilograms of milk a year. But we are producing much less than that. In order to use the pedigree potential of the herd in full measure, it will be necessary to produce 40-50 quintals of fodder units per head. But we have considerable less than that, and, in addition, the balanced situation with regard to protein is far from the ideal. It is our old, neglected disease. We have to achieve outstripping rates in the development of vegetable husbandry, to engage in this persistently, to expand our own fodder base, and to take decisive steps to change its structure. A definite amount of work has already been done in this direction. Last year the areas planted to clover and alfalfa were expanded, the share of peas in the summer green fodders and silage crops increased, and rape completely proved its worth. All this helped somewhat to enrich the fodders with protein. But what we have done is only the beginning of a large job that will make it possible to raise animal husbandry to a qualitatively new height.

We also see large reserves in the further improvement of administration and the economic mechanism in the agroindustrial complex. This is the third year of operation in our republic of RAPO's [rayon agroindustrial associations], which have done a lot to unite the efforts of the farms and the service enterprises for the attainment of better final results. Many problems that arise at the areas where the branches of the agroindustrial complex overlap are also being resolved by the republic's Agroprom, which was created in the spring of last year. At the same time, time has shown that it is necessary to accelerate substantially the development of a more effective economic mechanism, to increase the effectiveness of the management of the complex as a whole, that is, to take definite steps in the development of an experiment. For that purpose a decision of the Buro of the ECP Central Committee has created a commission headed by Central Committee secretary, Comrade A.-B. Upsi. That commission includes scientists, experienced administrators, and specialists from various departments. For the time being, only the first stage of reorganization of the administration of the agroindustrial complex has been completed, and it is necessary to reinforce it and work out the details. And also to prepare the ground for the next stage, in order to move ahead. That is what we are directed to do by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia [GCP] in improving the system of administration and resolving other economic questions.

A separate large question is the production of consumer goods. In recent time the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted fundamentally important decrees that set down measures to increase their production, to improve their quality, and to expand their variety. at the more complete satisfying of the increased demands of the Soviet citizen and at the logical continuation of the party's economic strategy.

In our republic's national economy, the production of consumer goods traditionally occupies an important place. At the present time the amount of consumer goods produced in our republic per ruble of wage fund comes to 2.19 rubles. That is one of the highest indicators in the country. Most of our commodities

completely deservedly enjoy a good reputation among the public. However, our production proved to be largely unready for the structural shifts occurring in the trade situation, or for the higher demands that the discriminating customer is currently making on consumer goods. Hence the difficulties in recent years in the fulfillment of the plan for retail commodity turnover. They are also foreseen this year.

At the 10th Plenum of the ECP Central Committee in April 1983 we carried out a special examination of the question of the further increase in the production of consumer goods, the expansion of their variety, and the improvement of their quality. Carrying out the plenum's decree, most of the enterprises took additional socialist pledges for the production of consumer goods in 1983. And now we can say that those pledges have been successfully fulfilled. The above-plan production of consumer goods has had a total value of more than 170 million rubles in retail prices, and the volume of their production has increased by 5.8 percent. There has been an improvement in the situation with regard to the production of a number of scarce articles -- cotton and linen fabrics, socks and stockings, furniture, and household chemical products. As a result of the joint efforts of the party and Soviet agencies and the planning and trade organizations, many enterprises in machine-building have also taken a turn and faced the so-called petty details.

Last year our republic's industry produced consumer goods with a total value of more than 3.5 billion rubles in retail prices. The plan was overfulfilled by 5 percent. Our basic producers of consumer goods coped with the fulfillment of the plans -- the ministries of light, local, timber and woodprocessing, food industry, and others. Nevertheless the results of the work that has been done is not completely satisfactory for us. We are alarmed by the incomplete conformity of the variety and quality of the commodities to the requirements of the public's demands. For example, the republic's commodity resources according to last year's plan exceeded the need for them for guaranteeing the planned commodity turnover by 52 million rubles. But at the same time for wardrobe articles alone, the public's demand is not being satisfied by at least 10 percent. Consequently, it is not so much a matter of the absolute shortage of the bulk of commodities as it is the fact that we want our store shelves to receive larger quantities of specifically those commodities that the customer would like to purchase, the articles that he is seeking. That is where the problem lies.

For decades our industry worked to produce for a market that accepted practically any commodity. And that, to a definite degree, made it possible for manufacturers not to worry especially about the details of consumer demand, to get along without any profound study or forecasting of the public's needs for various commodities. But now it is necessary to reorganize. And in principle everyone understands that completely. But the force of inertia is still great. And there are also other difficulties. The system of incentives, for example, has been poorly organized. And yet it is in this matter, more than in any other matter, that it is necessary to have new approaches and a fundamentally new way of thinking.

It is also necessary to think a bit about the better satisfying of the specific demands of various groups of the public, for example, rural residents,

retired persons, and young people. Take, for example, the young family. It is just getting started and, as a rule, it does not have any extra money. It needs inexpensive and simple furniture that can be replaced in a few years. It needs outfits of stylish, but not luxurious, clothing for the children, together with matching shoes and school bags. And all of this could exist, and incidentally it could have our emblems, bright and interesting ones! What is preventing us from producing all this? To a large extent the problem here is one of sluggishness, the lack of any live interest in the specific customer. And yet we have good examples of flexibility, of skillful work under the new conditions.

Many of the articles produced by the Garment Production Association imeni V. Klementi have enjoyed a good reputation. The people there attempt to keep in step with the fashions. They constantly study the customer's opinion concerning their output, and promptly develop new models and put them into production.

Or take the example of the Pyarnu Linen Combine. Promptly foreseeing the difficulties with the sale of furniture fabrics and the increase in the demand for fabrics for under garments, the combine management and its party organization, with the support of the republic's Minlegprom and the Pyarnu City Party Committee, took a course aimed at technical re-equipment. The building of a new shop was carried out by the in-house method and required the minimal expenditures.

Now that combine produces commodities that are very popular with the public, with the overall volume of output having increased by almost one-third. There has been a reduction in the number of workers, an improvement in the working conditions, and a large economic benefit has been obtained. Now that is really socialist enterprise.

Incidentally, the great importance of having a good knowledge of the customer and his demands, of having a direct way of reaching him, is also shown by our factory outlets. They constantly overfulfill the plans and, in essence, do not encounter the problem of overstocking.

From all this there are serious conclusions that should be drawn for themselves by our economic staffs -- the ministries and departments that engage in the production and sale of commodities for the public. They will have to carry out a considerable reorganization of their work. There must be an improvement in the way that the demand is studied. It is necessary to bring production closer to the consumer, to expand the network of factory outlets, to create more flexible systems of production that are capable of a more rapid replacement of output, to introduce economic incentives for the prompt assimilation of new materials and models, to develop contract cooperatives with plants producing parts and accessories, and to make broader use of contract prices for output.

It would seem that things would go better for us if Comrades K. Todeson and A. Madik, jointly with Comrades Yu. Kraft, V. Veskiyali, V. Chernyshev, A. Essenson, and A. Laos, would resolve all these questions more concretely and more time-responsively. For example, it would be possible, within the makeup of the interdepartmental commission for consumer goods, attached to

Gosplan, to form working groups dealing with individual types of commodities, with those groups headed by deputy ministers. The same commission should be more active in involving the local agencies in the search for additional opportunities for increasing the production of high-quality consumer goods.

We also can expect better from the departments that engage in the production and sale of food, meat-and-dairy, fish, and fruit-and-vegetable output, because our raw-material resources make it possible now to expand and improve the quality and variety of edible commodities.

A large contribution to the production of consumer goods can and must be made by the enterprises in machine-building and heavy industry.

We have already noted several times the successes in the production of consumer goods at the Plant imeni Kh. Pegel'man. Its example is valuable to us in that it shows the ways to assimilate at Group A enterprises, which have a high degree of equipment with technology and skilled engineer-technical services, the production of commodities with complicated design features. During the past four years the output of such commodities has more than quadrupled at the plant. This great achievement did not occur all by itself. The most important thing is that the people here engage constantly, efficiently in this matter, on a good organizational, scientific, and technical level. The enterprise has formed a special scientific-production complex for consumer goods, which is, one might say, a kind of comprehensive target program in miniature. Thus, they succeeded in uniting the efforts of scientists and workers, designers and technologists, and the administrators of the scientific and production subdivisions of the plans and in directing them toward the resolution of the specific task. Incidentally, after the development of the new article this scientific-production collective is given the immediate responsibility also for the assimilation of the production of output, the attainment of high economic indicators. That, all things considered, is a fortuitous form of the practical combination of science and production. And it yields positive results -- every ruble of the wage fund at the plant is covered by consumer commodities valued at 1.5 rubles. Alongside of this plant, some of our industrial giants look like dwarfs. The Estremrubyflot Association produces commodities valued at 3 kopecks for each ruble of the wage fund, and the Talleks Association produces commodities valued at 15 kopecks.

As you can see, comrades, in the production of producer goods in the republic and in the providing of the population with them, we have a lot of hard work ahead of us. The successful fulfillment of that work can be achieved only by common efforts, with the close interaction of everyone who takes part in planning and production.

A large amount of responsibility here lies on the republic's Council of Ministers. It must resolve in a more persistent, more concrete manner the practical questions of expanding the production of consumer goods, and must improve the coordination of the work in this direction by various ministries and departments.

It is also necessary for the party committees constantly to keep the questions of the production of consumer goods in the center of their attention, to

monitor more strictly not only the fulfillment by the enterprises of the plans as a whole, but also with regard to products list and variety, and to support their initiative. The Central Committee's departments and Secretariat also must engage more in this problem area, must penetrate better into the depth of the questions, must see the difficulties that are arising, must promptly find ways to resolve them, and must direct all this work with a consideration of the future prospects. This is all the more important in that the republic has begun to develop the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and the System of Personal Services for the Public Until the Year 2000.

And now I would like to discuss state and planning discipline. This is currently one of the most important questions. And it must be noted that the situation in our republic has somewhat improved. Last year all the ministries and departments fulfilled the plan for the overall volume of sale of manufactured output. The pledges for industry were fulfilled by all the cities and rayons. All the rayons coped with the plans for state purchases of grain, meat, milk, and eggs. All our farms completed the past year with a profit.

It is necessary to say outright today: standing behind these figures, these good indicators, is the stubborn, strenuous labor performed by hundreds of thousands of workers and kolkhoz members, engineer-technical workers, economic administrators, party and public organizations, party city and rayon committees, ministries and departments, the Council of Ministers, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. But it is with much greater acuity and alarm that we must speak today about those who did not do everything to assure the complete fulfillment of the plan, thus letting down the plants cooperating with them, the branch, the city and rayon, and the republic. And, unfortunately, we actually have people like that. Five industrial associations and enterprises failed to fulfill their plans for the production and sale of output. Thirty associations and enterprises failed to assure the fulfillment of their contract pledges to the customers.

We have the right to make especially serious claims against the administrators and party organizations of the Estoniumprom, Estrybprom, Vazar, and Kommunar Associations, and the Punane Kunda Plant and the Narva Building Materials Combine. In our republic, the plan for the production of 19 of the most important types of manufactured output, out of 160, was not completely fulfilled. This list includes electric motors, drive mechanisms, granulated superphosphate, woodpulp, cardboard, wood-fiber slabs, cement, wall materials, and a number of other articles. These are all serious violations of state discipline. There is certainly no need to explain their consequences for hundreds, if not thousands, of other collectives, as well as for the national economy as a whole.

The administrators who fail to assure the fulfillment of the production and delivery plans have become accustomed to explaining "all and everything" by the shortage of raw materials and components, railroad cars, and containers, in a word, by the so-called "objective" causes. But if one analyzes the situation a bit more deeply, the causes lie, in the final analysis, in the insufficient organizational spirit, in the low level of administration and supervision, in the lack sometime of elementary executive discipline, in the shortsightedness of the administrators.

Take, for example, the Prompribor Association. It produces large volumes of traditional output -- induction flow meters. It would seem that under these conditions the organizing of their stable production should not constitute any especially large amount of labor. Nevertheless, approximately 140 customers out of 3000 last year failed to receive the induction flow meters promptly and an equal number of customers can make claims against the association for disrupting the shipments of other instruments. The reason given there is the existence of certain bottlenecks in the technological process, but nothing practical is being done to eliminate them. In the third quarter of last year Prompribor was supposed to begin the production of a new flow meter that was designed on the base of unified standard parts and that is distinguished from its predecessors by its lesser labor-intensity and material-intensity. Production orders for this instrument have already been issued by 300 customers, but because the lack of preparation for production the new flow meter has not yet been assimilated for production. In the association it has become almost a rule to turn over, during the third ten-day period of the month, 70-80 percent of the output, a large part of which, of course, cannot be sold within the establish deadlines. Moreover, what kind of quality of output can we talk about with this kind of hurry-up production at the end of the month?

Unfortunately, instances such as this in our republic are not isolated ones. And the chief reason for the disruption in deliveries is, as a rule, the low executive discipline, which leads to violations of state discipline.

Nor is everything going smoothly in agriculture. Last year the plans for the sale of vegetables was not fulfilled for all categories of farms by Valgaskiy and Vil'yandiskiy Rayons. Without a doubt, the year for vegetable growers was a complicated one, and the dry summer had its effect. But was everything done to counteract the caprices of the weather? Because 13 of our other rayons coped with that difficult task. Out of six flax-sowing rayons, only Tartuskiy Rayon proved to be in debt to the state with regard to purchases of flax, and Rakvereskiy Rayon was the only potato-growing rayons that failed to meet the plan for purchases of potatoes. Why, one asks himself. Currently, as never before, for the administrators and specialists on the farms, in Agroprom, and the ministries and departments, a factor that takes on special importance is the ability to fight persistently for the fulfillment of the state plan, for each indicator in it, both by all the farms and by all the rayons. How can one, for example, explain what I might call the shameful fact that in the past year, which was very favorable for us, there still was a farm that failed to fulfill the plan for the sale of meat and milk to the state. One out of 300! That farm is the Yyzu Sovkhoz, Vil'yandiskiy Rayon, a sovkhoz that is under the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Management. And if one considers that that ministry's system has a total of 19 farms, the conclusion concerning the level of management and the rendering of assistance to them can suggest itself. Moreover, the Vil'yandiskiy Rayon Agroindustrial Association, of which the Yyzu Sovkhoz is a member, took an approach to that farm from departmental positions and failed to manifest any self-interestedness in its fulfillment of the plans. On the rayon-wide scale that underfulfillment constituted less than 0.3 percent, and here the questions are not simply about the quantity of undersupplied output. That quantity is not too great. But the question pertains to the attitude toward the state plan, toward planning discipline.

The planning assignments and contract obligations last year were also not fulfilled by many enterprises and organizations in construction, trade, and other branches.

All this attests to the fact that we still have a lot of work to do to reinforce state and planning discipline. In the practical situation that means that it is necessary to improve administration and planning at all levels -- republic, branch, city, and rayon, and in the labor collectives. There must also be a considerable increase in the responsibility borne by the cadres for the fulfillment of the plans and contracts. That is our question, a party question. The party's city and rayon committees and the party organizations must be more demanding toward any instances of disruption of the planning assignments, viewing them as a gross violation of state and party discipline.

Why is it that we are speaking so sharply about this today? When critically evaluating the results of last year, we must look at our work not only from the point of view of the achieved successes, but also from the point of view of the opportunities that we missed. What remained undone? What lessons should we have learned from last year's results in order not to repeat those mistakes that we had in the past?

In order for the current year's plans to be fulfilled confidently, with a reserve of stability, there must be no kind of vacillation. The rate that we achieved last year must also be retained during the current year. And we must in no instance transfer the bulk of the plan to the last months of the year.

All our practical activity in the fulfillment of the plans that were posed by the December Plenum in the area of economics will be successful in proportion to the thoroughness with which that activity is reinforced by indoctrinational, explanatory work.

How are we to achieve the necessary concreteness and precision in this matter also? Obviously, by directing attention and concentrating efforts primarily and chiefly in the most vitally important -- I might say, key -- questions, by manifesting consistency in resolving them. What questions are they? Mention has already been made of them today. I have in mind the fight to increase labor productivity and reduce production costs, to introduce the brigade form of the organization of labor, to economize material and labor resources, to reinforce state and labor discipline, to form a new economic way of thinking, and to develop initiative and socialist enterprise.

The ECP Central Committee, the party's city and rayon committees, and the primary party organizations have at their disposal sufficient manpower and means to resolve these questions. They possess time-tested forms and methods for this kind of work. It is only a matter of making better use of them. And it is not necessary here to "reinvent the wheel," to complicate simple things that are comprehensible to everyone. Take, for example, the task of forming a new economic way of thinking. Does the currently existing economic education of the workers provide for the resolution of this task? Basically speaking, it probably does provide for it. But how often is our

training carried out in a formalistic manner, just for the purpose of getting a check mark in a report? Nothing, in essence, is said about the specific deeds of the enterprise or sector. And yet real training presupposes a living link with practical life. It would be very beneficial at such classes to conduct a serious discussion about the enterprise's economic problems, so that those classes would encourage creative thinking, would develop initiative, so that that training would be real assistance in the resolution of the vitally important questions of production and administration.

And just think of how much that is new that should appear in the area of ideological-indoctrinal work connected with the mass development of collective forms of the organization and encouragement of labor. We have carried out a lot of work to propagandize the brigade method. The party press, television, and radio have participated actively in this work. But the work must be carried on farther. It is necessary to study new areas of this important topic. It is high time to make the transition from general appeals and judgments about the advantages of the collective forms of the organization of labor, and begin to demonstrate the specific practical situation with all its complexities and contradictions. What we need today is the clear, meaningful discussion of positive experience, a discussion that demonstrates from within the mechanics of the springing up of the new, the advanced, so that everything that is valuable becomes everyone's common property. It is important to reveal the practical experience of party management in the creation and development of brigades, and the ideological-indoctrinal work under the new conditions. Incidentally, this experience already exists, albeit to a small extent. Here one might mention the Tallinn Machine-Building Plant imeni I. Lauristin, the Slantsekhim Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin, and certain others.

The party committees and primary party organizations will have to do some thoroughgoing work to create in the brigades a group of effective agitation and propaganda activists and to transfer to them the center of gravity of the mass political work.

More attention must be devoted to questions of the reinforcement of discipline in the broadest sense of that word. It must be admitted here that we have not been able to avoid the habit of working by fits and starts: we have enthusiastically undertaken a job and then, after receiving the first results, have become somewhat complacent. The word about discipline has also become somewhat tarnished in our newspapers and on the television and radio. Today, at this plenum, we shall not attempt to give any advice to journalists, or to remind the party, trade-union, and Komsomol workers what they should do, or how they should do it, in order to reinforce state and labor discipline or to introduce the proper order in various sectors of our life. But one thing that we will say definitely and firmly is that it is necessary to engage constantly in those questions. Discipline is not a temporary requirement, but, rather, is our constant concern, one of the most effective ways to resolve the tasks that are confronting us.

Or let us take the demonstration of our economy's reserves in graphic forms of agitation. We do not yet know how to get the most complete return from the use of this simple but effective means. At the Tallinn Woodpulp and

Paper Combine you can see a slogan that calls upon people to save bread, but you will not encounter any appeal to save wood, which is something that is especially important for that collective. Nor is there a breakdown for the enterprise that shows what it means to save one percent of woodpulp or electrical energy.

And yet, on the whole, the Estonbumprom Association has been failing from year to year to cope with the assignments for the economizing of energy resources. The work in this area has been poorly organized, and frequently the collectives in the shops, sectors, and brigades do not know their assignments, or the resolves of the economizing. Last year the association overexpended, in excess of the established norms, almost 800 tons of standard fuel, 3400 gigacalories of thermal electric energy, and 3 million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy.

And just think about how much outright compromising of a fighting work slogan one still encounters. You will agree with me that the slogan "We'll fulfill our socialist pledges ahead of schedule!" at a neglected construction site is a ridiculous statement that contradicts common sense. This is an instance when even ten agitators cannot correct just one little blunder. The question lies not only in the lack of ability to use concrete graphic agitation, but completely in the attitude to ideological means on the part of certain party organizations, or even the city and rayon committees. In a few places people underestimate the publicity of the social competition; in a few places people belittle the importance of political training; in a few places people have forgotten about oral propaganda and agitation. This failure to do the job right does not usually get by unpaid. It invariably has its effect somewhere. Where there is a lack of close communication in organizing, economic, and ideological work, there are no lasting successes.

Just ten days ago a conference in Tallinn ended with reports and elections of officers to our republic's party organization. It was a large, important campaign, and now we can say that it was held in an atmosphere of high participation and demandingness. It demonstrated that the Communists completely support the party's political course, the close solidarity of our ranks, the increase in the authority of the Leninist party, and its indissoluble link with the masses. And this is the chief source of the party's power.

At meetings in groups and shop and primary organizations, and at rayon and city conferences, Communists thoroughly and completely analyzed the style and methods of party work, considered the rate of fulfillment of all our plans, and carried out a thoroughgoing discussion about the ways to move farther ahead.

Something that became a peculiarity of the current report and election campaign was the businesslike directedness of many of the statements. At the meetings and conferences, 63,000 Communists made statements. They made an unprecedentedly large number of proposals and comments -- more than 26,000 -- dealing with questions of economic activity, and the improvement of ideological, indoctrinal, and party-organizational work. Half of them have already been resolved operationally, but the remaining ones require

the carrying out of more thorough work. In any case all the opinions that were expressed by the Communists were discussed openly at the party committees. They form the basis of the current work plans, and they enable us to see better, in more detail, the actual situation in the outlying areas, and get a clear picture of our own unfinished work and omissions.

The most important, most constructive recommendations that pertain to the competency of the republic's agencies were considered at the Buro of the Central Committee and were directed to the appropriate ministries and departments for resolution. The rate of their fulfillment is under the supervision of the departments and Secretariat of the Central Committee.

The critical, acute nature of the discussion at meetings to hear reports and hold elections and at conferences is a sign of the strength and combativeness of the party organizations. A strict, demanding evaluation of what has been done always encourages people to work better, to locate more effective ways to resolve those complicated tasks that are confronting us today.

The reports and elections that have ended have greatly enriched our party life, have given a new impetus to the further development of intraparty democracy, and have increased the personal responsibility borne by Communists for the state of affairs in the labor collectives. Now it is necessary for our party committees to make full use of the combat mood of the Communists, to direct that mood toward the fulfillment of the new, large tasks, and to concentrate the organizational work in those sectors where the situation is being corrected slowly, where the intensification of party influence is required.

In the course of the report and election campaign, the most serious attention was devoted to improving the qualitative makeup of the elected party activists. And that work has yielded its results. At the present time the people who have been elected to the party committees and party buros, as secretaries and deputy secretaries of shop and primary organizations, and as party group organizers, include a larger number of workers, ordinary kolkhoz members, and women. There has been a rise in the educational level of the secretaries of primary party organizations, with 56.6 percent of them having higher education. This is 5 percent more than in 1980. On kolkhozes and sovkhozes, two-thirds of the secretaries have agricultural education.

The number of workers and kolkhoz members has also increased in the makeup of the party's city and rayon committees and their buros. Moreover, consideration has been made of the prospects for their further growth, for their advancement to administrative party, Soviet, and economic work. Another very important task has also been resolved. We have in mind the observance of the correct proportions of representation in the makeup of the party's city and rayon committees by Communists of different nationalities.

At the same time, the reports and elections have demonstrated that we still have a lot to do to achieve the further rise in the level of organizational and political work in party organizations. Not all the party committees and party buros have been able to reorganize their activities in the light of the requirements of the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central

Committee. Sometimes they assume functions that are not inherent to them, attempt to replace the economic administrators, and the same time fail to make the complete use of their own right as stated in the Party Rules -- the right to supervision the activities of the management and the work of the apparatus.

Once again it is necessary to recall that the party committee is the political headquarters for the management of economic and cultural construction. And in all its undertakings it operates through people, through the increase in the combativeness of the low-level party links, through the reinforcement of organizational spirit and order, the development of initiative and enterprise, through the placement of personnel and the monitoring of execution. In a word, the party organization has a mass of means and methods for influencing the work of the specialists and administrators of all ranks, for encouraging them to work creatively, with the maximum return on their efforts. That is the function of the party committee. And one should proceed from that function, executing the directives of the party and the government.

But do the party committees always operate by using specifically the party methods that are inherent in them? Take, for example, the following example. We have developed the practice of having the party, Soviet, and trade-union agencies form various kinds of commissions. Yes, there have been instances when standing or ad-hoc commissions actually are needed. But it is necessary to consider that things do not end with the creation of a commission, but that is only where things are supposed to begin. But what frequently happens for us is just the reverse: by forming a commission, the rayon or city committee considers the question to be resolved. And sometimes the commission members do not have enough time even to convene, and so the job in which they are supposed to engage doesn't go anywhere. In addition, frequently the members of many commissions are one and the same people. You look at a certain city committee secretary or deputy chairman of a city executive committee and you see that he is beyond his depth in all those commissions. Sometimes he himself does not even remember how many he belongs to.

Of course, one should not object to commissions in general. But if a particular commission has been formed, then, according to all the rules of logic, it should work. And it should work fruitfully. That's the main thing.

We also observe another attempt -- to create invariably a staff at every construction site, large or small, and invariably to put at the head of it the secretary of a party rayon or city committee. But is this always needed? Because if this is done, the responsibility for the construction site, willingly or unwillingly, is transferred from the economic administrators to the party committee.

Comrades, we have to change our work style. We are persistently required to do that by the decrees of our party's Central Committee concerning the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia and the Saratov Oblast Committee, which decrees direct us toward the confirmation of a truly party style, a truly businesslike style in the activities of the party committees. Many of the shortcomings that were noted in these decrees pertain directly to us. Certain of the workers in our party apparatus rarely visit

the outlying areas, and do little to use the time spent at labor collectives for the purpose of making a thorough analysis of the state of affairs, for ascertaining the reasons for shortcomings, or for supervising and checking execution.

At a number of report-and-election meetings and conferences, attention was devoted to the substantial shortcomings in the work of performed by the party committees with administrative cadres. The city and rayon committees and the Secretariat and departments of the Central Committee must make the necessary conclusions for themselves from this.

But as a whole the reports and elections have shown that the party committees were on top of things, that a large amount of the work that was done under their guidance by the party organizations has yielded its results. But we do not have the right to be lulled by what has been achieved. To an equal degree we must not underestimate the difficulties and shortcomings. The decisions of the December Plenum direct us toward specific jobs, to the further improvement of our work style, the reinforcement of organizational spirit and discipline, and the attainment of the best final results. In this work also there is room for every party organization, every collective, every Communist Party member.

In the resolution of the large and complex tasks that have been posed by the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, an important role belongs to the Soviets of People's Deputies. They can and must do considerably more.

One agency that acted very correctly, for example, was the Tallin City Executive Committee, by taking on special supervision of the production of consumer goods at the city's enterprises from production waste products and local raw materials. The resolution of questions of public services and utilities began to improve after the Pyarnu City Executive Committee began to involve the public in this important matter.

The Soviets of People's Deputies have been given large rights and large opportunities. But by no means all of them know how to make complete use of those rights. Many of our Soviets still do not show the proper persistence, initiative, or consistency in the resolution of the vitally important questions that are linked with the workers' interests. And yet it is precisely the Soviets that should play a leading role in the socioeconomic development of the cities and rayons, should engage more in coordinating the activities of the enterprises with various types of subordination that are situated on their territory, and should work in closer contact with the ministries and departments.

The trade-union organizations should also operate more effectively. They have been called upon to intensify their effect upon the questions that are directly included in their competency. These questions include, first of all, the development of the socialist competition, the assurance of safe working conditions, and the protection of labor. They should devote special attention to organizing public nutrition, and the offering of trade, mass-cultural, and medical services to the workers, and should organize the regular supervision of the fulfillment of the collective contracts. And yet, as has been indicated by practical life, many trade-union committees divorce themselves

from the resolution of these important questions, engage in culture-mongering, are afraid to enter, when necessary, into conflicts with the management, and fail to use the rights that are granted to them.

It is also necessary to guarantee the effective practical participation of the Komsomol organizations in the fulfillment of the decisions of the December Plenum. The republic's Komsomol has not yet shown sufficient initiative in disseminating the patriotic undertakings of youth, or the proper consistency in carrying out the work involving the occupational orientation of youth, or the permanent assignment of them on the job, especially in agriculture. The Komsomol organizations continue to carry out an insufficient amount of work to indoctrinate in young people conscious labor discipline and behavior, or to organize intelligent recreation.

In the resolution of the tasks that have been posed by the Plenum, an important place belongs also to the many thousands of people who serve as people's controllers. The republic's Committee of the People's Control, and its agencies in the outlying areas, must develop and carry out measures to guarantee the more effective control over the unconditional fulfillment by the ministries and departments, associations and enterprises, of the assignments in the state plan, the contract pledges for shipments of output, and the strict observance of state, planning, and labor discipline. It is necessary for us to increase the rate of participation of the committees and groups, and of all the people's controllers, in the work of seeking reserves, of establishing exemplary order and organizational spirit in all sectors of production. It is necessary to make more rigid demands on the officials who allow poor business practices and squandering to exist.

In a word, as was pointed out in the statement by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the Plenum, the entire economic, organizing, and ideological-indoctrinal work of the party, trade-union, and Komsomol agencies, and the local Soviets, must be aimed at guaranteeing the unconditional fulfillment of the plan and the use of all the opportunities for overfulfilling it.

At the present time our republic, like the rest of the country, has broadly extended the preparations for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this very important state campaign, the party organizations also take the most active part.

Where should we concentrate our attention? It is necessary to strive for a situation in which the elections can contribute as much as possible to the resolution of the tasks of economic and social development, to raising the level of work of the state and economic agencies, to reinforcing discipline and order, and to developing the initiative and labor and political participation of the workers. It is necessary, at the pre-election meetings, for the administrators of the Soviets and for the ministers to give reports on the fulfillment of the mandates of the voters, on the work performed by the state agencies to implement our plans, and on the observance of the laws. It is necessary to keep an account of all the recommendations and critical comments, and to begin, on a deadline basis, to implement all that is practical. The elections to our country's Supreme Soviet must encourage the struggle for the further improvement of the work performed by the city and rayon Soviets,

and the republic's state agencies in the resolution of the vitally important questions of city planning and the development of trade and personal services for the public.

In his statement Comrade Yu. V. Andropov especially emphasized the personal responsibility borne by the members of the CPSU Central Committee for the development of the economy and social relations, for improving people's lives. This also pertains completely to all of us, as participants in the plenum of the ECP plenum, and as members of the newly elected city and rayon party committees, who are constantly required to be aware of their high responsibility to the party and the nation, and to justify the trust that has been put in them by the Communists.

In conclusion Comrade K. G. Vayno, speaking in the name of all the participants of the plenum, assured the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo that the republic's party organization and the republic's labor collectives will do everything expected of them for the preterm fulfillment of the planned assignments for 1984, and that the decisions of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committees, and the principles and conclusions contained in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statement will be made the basis of the activity of all the party and state agencies in the republic, and of every party organization.

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**NABIYEV ADDRESSES DECEMBER PLENUM ON TECHNICAL PROGRESS**

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Dec 83 pp 1-2

[Address by R.N. Nabihev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan: "Through A Course of Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] R.N. Nabihev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, presenting his address, said:

"We are discussing today the tasks of the republic party organization stemming from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Speeding Up Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy." This is a general party document whose significance is difficult to overestimate. The development of science and technology has become one of the chief directions of competition between the socialist and capitalist systems. It is especially important to keep this in mind at the present time in the prevalence of conditions of extreme exacerbation of the international situation.

"The statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, published 25 November, has authoritatively and strongly resounded throughout the entire planet. In it are concentrated the will of the entire party and all the Soviet people and their indomitable resolve to provide a due answer to the adventurist policy of the present administration of the United States of America and the NATO bloc and to reliably protect the security of our country and the countries of the socialist community as a whole.

"The workers of Tajikistan, like all the Soviet people, wholly and completely approve the measures undertaken by our state and all its allies for ensuring its security.

"The decree studied today is aimed at the systematic implementation of the policy of the CPSU for speeding up the development of the economy, further strengthening of the defensive might of our state and improvement of the life of the Soviet people.

"Relying on Lenin's directives, the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses worked out the basic principles of scientific-technical policy. The November (1982) and the June (1983) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee concretized these tasks. Now we are dealing with their practical realization. Attributing to this important value, The CPSU Central Committee adopted a special decision on a plan for first-priority organizational measures, in accordance with which we adopted a plan on the scale of the republic.

"In recent years, we have done a great deal on introducing the achievements of science and technology. Fixed capital is being renewed, renovation and re-equipment of enterprises, modernization of equipment are going on. The capital-labor ratio is growing. The level of mechanization and automation of production is rising. As of 1 July of the current year, there were in operation 1,002 mechanized, 147 automated lines and tens of machine tools with digitally programmed operation. During 1981 and 1982, a total of 2,123 units of equipment was modernized and 481 new advanced production processes were introduced. From year to year, the material and technical base of science has been growing stronger. Creative work ties of scientific organizations and VUZ's are becoming stronger. Scientific-technical societies, inventors and innovators are more active.

"But the time and new tasks are making greater demands on planning and control of scientific-technical progress.

"The defects pointed out by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers also apply completely and entirely to our republic. They exist in the work of ministries and departments, their jurisdictional enterprises and planning-and-design bureos and also in the work of academic institutes and VUZ's. This requires that the republic's party, soviet, economic, trade-union and komsomol organizations radically improve work on mobilizing the creative efforts of all labor collectives, scientific personnel, scientists, designers and planners for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party and the government.

"The decree clearly outlines all the basic directions of work. We have to with common efforts implement decisive measures for the strengthening of all the links connected with the development and introduction of new equipment. I have in mind training of scientific personnel and specialists. I have in mind the accelerated construction and reequipment of experimental bases and production facilities. I have in mind the creation of reserve capacities for perfecting and fully developing the out of progressive types of equipment, materials and many other sectors of the common front of the struggle for scientific-technical progress.

"The large-scale tasks of scientific-technical progress at the present stage also require wide-scale introduction of programmed special-goal planning of science and technology.

"The decree specifies that beginning with the 12th Five-Year Plan all-union, republic, sectorial and scientific-technical programs as well programs for regions and regional production complexes will be worked out. For the purpose

of ensuring their fulfillment provision has been made for top-priority allocation of financial, labor and material-technical resources.

"This arrangement as a matter of fact is already being put into practice. Collectives of the Academy of Sciences and sectorial scientific-research institutes, departments of VUZ's, planning-design and planning-technological organizations of the republic are conducting research jointly with enterprises belonging to industry, construction, agriculture and other sectors of the economy within the framework of republic and union complex programs and are solving major national-economic, scientific-technical and social problems.

"The development and implementation of a complex program for the creation of a South Tajik Regional Production Complex can serve as an example. The achievements of our seismologists, especially in the field of earthquake-proof construction have received wide-scale recognition. Initiated researches by the Tajik branch of Priroda State Center for the Employment of Space Resources in the Interest of the National Economy show great promise.

"Undoubtedly a great deal is being done. But in the light of growing tasks and requirements one cannot be satisfied with this.

"Today we have the right to make serious demands on our scientific institutions and planning organs concerning the intolerably slow elaboration of key questions pertaining to the republic's development. This applies first and foremost to compilation of long-term programs of integrated development of production forces while taking into account rapidly growing resources, creation of a mining complex, development of a construction base, the quickest possible completion of work on the creation of Khovalipg Agroindustrial Association and development of the land of the Dangara tract, use of other reserves of Kulyabskaya Oblast, improvement of the economy and solution of problems of social development of Gorno-Badkhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast as well as a number of other vitally important problems. In particular, utilization of the mineral wealth of the Pamirs no doubt can significantly increase the contribution of this region to the volume of the republic's industrial production.

"Agriculture also possesses such possibilities. For example, recommendations on ways of conducting high-mountain meadow cultivation and horticulture are known. But they have not found practical application. But the methods created by scientists of planting grass [zaluzheniye] on cones of dirt of eroding stony slopes and river flood lands which can yield big results and put into use thousands of hectares. Aside from fodder production, apricot and nut orchards and sea buckthorn plantations can be established on them.

"There are also other problems. We are particularly concerned by the nonintegrated development of our cities and rayon centers where questions of construction of housing, municipal services, educational and health-care facility, intracity transport and communications are solved without mutual cooperation.

"Speaking of science, it should be said quite definitely that over the course of a number of years it has been developed in the republic rather onesidedly and at times far from specific economic tasks. Here are questions that should be attentively studied to find a correct solution.

"Accountability should be increased for conducted scientific-research work. Today, for example, it cannot be said that a number of laboratories and departments of academic institutes, including physico-technical, chemistry and geology have now been working for many years without due results.

"In 1980, academic institutions of the natural-science type completed researches on 119 themes and assignments. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that the results for most of them are of an applied character. But they have served as a basis for only 21 proposals for introduction into the national economy. Of these only half is actually being used.

"But the presidium of the republic's Academy of Sciences has not given this the necessary appraisal. And even the party committee and institutes of the party organization are not making strict demands in regard to quality, effectiveness and time periods of the conducted research.

"Insufficient attention has been paid to unification of the efforts of academic sectorial scientific institutions and VUZ's for the purpose of conducting joint basic and applied research although these functions are assigned to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences.

"In the current five-year plan, the republic is participating in 27 all-union and 6 republic scientific-technical programs. Their development and realization involve the Academy of Sciences, scientific-research institutes of Gosplan and the Ministry of Agriculture of the republic as well as a number of union enterprises. It should be said that they are solving very serious and responsible problems that are directly related to acceleration of scientific-technical progress. Targets are basically being fulfilled on schedule. But there are occasional disruptions and hitches that today are perfectly intolerable.

"Serious defects are to be found in the work of planning-design and technological organizations. Plans are not fulfilled, at times elementary control is lacking over thematic direction and quality of completed developments.

"The republic possesses solid forces both in science, and in technical engineering work and in planning-and-design work. All in all there are about 22,000 persons employed here. This includes about 3,000 doctors and candidates of sciences. This is a large army of specialists, and party organs should organize the work so that it operates with a full yield.

"The effectiveness of conducted work relating to technical progress depends to a significant degree on the existence of well-equipped experimental bases. Practice shows that where experimental production has been created and properly used, effectiveness of the work of scientists and specialists is significantly higher. And even the time spent on development of models of new equipment and technology is significantly reduced.

"But the experimental base at scientific institutions and experimental production operations in ministries and departments of the republic still do not take care of the rapidly growing requirements. This base is particularly weakly developed at the Academy of Sciences, and plans for building it are constantly not being fulfilled.

"It is necessary to carefully analyze the state of the experimental material-technical base and to outline measures for its further development.

"The practice of conducting scientific-research work on the basis of economic contracts deserves attention. In recent years, the volume of economic-contract work at the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Education and scientific institutions of the Ministry of Agriculture of the republic has grown markedly. And this is of mutual benefit. But cases are still encountered where the results of economic-contract work are not realized in production. At the same time, neither the client nor the performer carries any responsibility. Even party organs at time bypass this, although this is an obvious squandering of resources.

"An effective organizational form of union of science with production is the wide-scale development of scientific-production associations in the country. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers attach great importance to this matter.

"The Voskhod Scientific-Production Association is the only one of its kind to have been established so far in the republic. It was created by way of experiment on the basis of Metalloplastmassy Experimental Plant and the planning and design bureau within the system of the Ministry of Local Industry and was formed in April of this year. We need to attentively watch its operation, study the special features of the experiment and on this basis determine its long-term tasks.

"Our higher educational institutions can and must solve major problems relating to acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

"A leading role in the creation of ways for speeding up scientific-technical progress and their adoption in all spheres of the national economy is played by industry. It is no accident that the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers includes as top-priority measures automation of production processes and the employment of automated and standardized equipment, manipulators and computer equipment.

"In the past 7 years, 617 million rubles in the republic were spent on renovation and reequipment. At many industrial enterprises, this made it possible to improve the use of fixed capital, to reduce production cost and to achieve improved quality as well as to initiate the production of new kinds of products.

"But analysis of the operational indicators of the republic's industrial enterprises attests to the fact that the possibilities of its improvement connected with adoption of achievements of scientific-technical progress are far from being used completely.

"High-efficiency equipment is often poorly used." The speaker cites examples of such a situation at Tadzhik Mining Administration, at Leninabad and Dushanbe trade machine building plants, the wool-kerchief factory in Leninabad and Tadzhik Aluminum Plant.

"Capacities are being very slowly assimilated at Yavan Electrical Equipment Plant, Tursunzade Porcelain Plant, Isfara Keramzit Plant and at a number of other enterprises that were planned and built while taking into account current achievements of science and technology.

"Special attention is devoted in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to measures for improving the quality of manufactured products on the basis of scientific-technical progress. Thus, as of 1 January 1984 two categories of quality--highest and first--are to be used. Products not meeting the requirements of the new conditions must be immediately taken off production. In recent years collectives of industrial enterprises in Tajikistan have achieved a marked improvement in the quality of manufactured items. But we still have much to do in this direction. Cases of deviation from state standards are still frequent.

"Many industrial production facilities belonging to the Ministry of Local Industry, Ministry of Procurement, Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry and a number of enterprises of union subordination require significant improvement.

"Special attention should be directed to carrying out reequipment of two of the largest light-industry enterprises. We have reference to Dushanbe Production Cotton Association and Leninabad Silk Combine. Fulfillment of this task is specified in the decisions of the 26th party congress.

"Work on renewal of fixed capital, introduction of modern equipment and creation of conditions for high productive labor are the main route to improvement of the quality of manufactured products and renewal and expansion of its assortment.

"The speeding up of scientific-technical progress is particularly important in capital construction. The startup of fixed capital, modernization and renovation of production capacities, development of the material base of science and the solution of social-cultural problems directly depend on it.

"In recent years, capital-construction volume has grown. Its material-technical base has grown stronger and progressive methods, new design solutions and construction materials are being introduced.

"But examining the state of affairs in the light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, it becomes necessary to speak of many serious defects in the operation of this sector.

"Thus the plan for introduction of progressive and industrial methods as well as new equipment in the 2 years and 9 months of the five-year plan was fulfilled only 74.6 percent by the basic construction ministries. The share of heavy and low-productive manual labor is slow in being reduced.

"In the first two years of the five-year plan labor productivity in construction grew 3.8 percent versus the assigned 11.3 percent. The brigade form of labor organization is very slow in being introduced.

"First of all heads of construction ministries and departments, party and trade-union organizations should be made accountable for all these deficiencies. They often carelessly compile plans for introduction of new equipment and extremely poorly monitor their fulfillment. Local party and soviet organs deal quite inadequately with these problems.

"Dissipation of resources and funds occurs at numerous construction projects and facilities. It is time to install the necessary order in this matter and hold the republic's Gosplan, ministries and departments strictly accountable.

"For the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress in construction, scientific research and searches for new design solutions and technologies are needed. The basis for this exists. Scientific-research work in capital construction is engaged in many of our institutions.

"They include the Central Asian affiliate of the Scientific-Research Institute of Foundations and Underground Structures, the Institute of Seismology and Earthquake-Proof Construction of the republic Academy of Sciences, the Scientific-Research Institute of Construction Materials and others. Here significant resources are concentrated capable of successfully solving many problems. But the possibilities are utilized far from fully.

"In connection with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, it is necessary to refer to planning of construction and to the quality of planning estimates. The adoption of everything new begins with planning. Sometimes the work quality of planning organizations still does not meet the requirements of the time. Each year on the average, about 30 percent of the plans are returned after examination for further work. The same blunders are repeated year after year.

"Many buildings in Dushanbe and other residential centers were built with the use of planning decisions of institutes located in different cities of the country. At the same time, their experience is being very little adopted by the planning organizations of our republic which for all practical purposes do not put out new original developments meeting the contemporary needs of architecture and technology.

"The republic's Gosstroy must install state order in all these questions. It should more fully utilize the rights granted for coordination and control of the organization of scientific research and planning developments as well as their direction and adoption of results in production.

"Under the conditions of our republic, special importance is to be attached to the further improvement of the operation of transport and all-out speeding up of the rate of introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress in this sector.

"At the same time the operational effectiveness of transport, first of all motor transport, is growing slowly. It is clear that there should be intensified working out of problems relating to improvement of the structure of the rolling stock park so that it fully corresponds to the needs of the republic's

economy and a more demanding search should be made for ways of advancing the cost of construction and operation of the road system.

"We should act more boldly in the matter of utilization of special types of transport, particularly suspended cableways. As shown by domestic and foreign experience, they are useful and more economical in mountains regions.

"Scientific-technical progress is of special importance in sectors included in the agroindustrial complex. In accordance with the food program, in the period to 1990 it will be necessary to sharply raise the level of the food sectors, especially animal husbandry, vegetable growing, horticulture and viticulture.

"Everybody well knows that in agriculture land is the main natural resource. Its effective utilization under our conditions of shortage of arable land is a particularly acute and urgent question. Many of our scientists and production people are working on this. It ought to be said that certain successes have been achieved in this direction. In the last three years, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have begun to use the land more effectively. Its irrigatable holdings are being increased despite the growing complexity of irrigation construction. Yield has increased in varying degree but for almost all cultivated crops.

"Still it must be said today that the yield from our land could be and must be much higher. Take, for example of zonal specialization. Everybody, it would seem, understands its importance. But in creation of areas of vegetable growing, potato raising, horticulture and viticulture in different sectors, here and there obvious ineffectualness and timidity are displayed and at times there is even a lack of desire to engage in a new undertaking.

"In this is to be found one of the reason for the slow rate of establishing suburban vegetable and dairy farms and developing viticulture.

"The situation is also bad in regard to adoption of scientifically based crop rotation and advanced methods of using the ground the whole year around.

"A most important problem connected with intensification of agriculture is seed growing. This has been so far one of our bottlenecks.

"Take cotton growing. Whereas at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, cotton was sown approximately on 42 percent of all areas with first-class seeds, in the lasst three years this indicator has been consistently going down. And this could not but help affect yield, ripening time and consequently the rate of cotton harvesting. It would appear that the existing form of our organization of seed growing has become obsolete, and this problem must be solved without delay.

"Our breeders can show no marked successes.

"Under the conditions of Tajikistan, special attention should be devoted to questions of irrigational development, improvement of watering techniques

and economical use of water resources. Large-scale hydropower construction makes it possible for us to create tremendous water reservoirs which are used in an integrated manner for irrigation purposes. It is difficult to overestimate the social-economical results of this construction. This is linked to the tasks set by the 26th party congress relating to the two most important national-economic programs--power and food.

"I must say that in recent years we have been devoting a certain amount of attention to the development of foothill land with greater slopes through the use of droplet irrigation of gardens and vineyards and synchronous pulse sprinkler irrigation of fodder crops. But the scale of its introduction is so small that one cannot speak seriously of any yield from it. Scientific institutions, experimental organizations of the republic, ministries and departments connected with water management must speed up the development and introduction of new forms of irrigation that are accessible and economically justifiable. It is necessary to think about the use of available possibilities, especially in mountainous regions, for the construction of small reservoirs to be used at the time of active irrigation of agricultural crops.

"In recent years, a certain amount of work has been done in the republic on raising the efficiency of animal husbandry. Large complexes and mechanized farms have been built for the production of milk, fattening of cattle and rearing of young cows. A number of poultry factories and enterprises for pork production have been established. All this has made it possible to employ the achievements of technical progress in this sector of agriculture and has shown positive results.

"On many farms the construction of expensive complexes for the production of milk has not been tied in to the creation of a stable fodder base and the creation of a herd of animals adapted for use under conditions of industrial technology. As a result, the large capital investment has not produced a due return. The labor productivity of milk maids on the complexes remains practically on the same level that existed on the old farms.

"A whole series of other questions cannot but help be of concern. In the republic, measures for intensification of sheep raising are carried out most inadequately. Organization of breeding, more work on selection and improvement of existing and creation of new breeds of cattle call for radical improvement. A clearly worked out system is needed for improving the health of herds and preventive and sanitary measures. We have to provide accelerated filling of the complexes with highly productive cattle through directed rearing of heifers at specialized farms and to lend a concentrated sectorial character to fattening of cattle.

"Everybody knows how tremendously important the fodder problem is. This most important problem was the subject of repeated examination at Central-Committee plenums and republic conferences. But there are still many unsolved questions. So far we do not have a clear, thought out system of fodder-production organization applicable to the individual natural-economic areas of the republic. Measures are being poorly carried out with reference to conversion of fodder production to an independent sector of agriculture.

"The extremely unsatisfactory condition of pasturing causes serious concern. Hundreds of thousands of hectares are choked with inedible grasses, which is becoming a calamity for pasturing animal husbandry.

"In addition to unsolved production questions, we have here a whole series of scientific problems. Botanical science, having at its disposal a vast collection of very rich flora, must more closely relate its research to the practice of pasture use, uniting its efforts with the Institute of Animal Husbandry of the Ministry of Agriculture which is engaged in this work.

"No realistic steps have been taken in introducing the achievements of microbiological science. In many republics and cities, enterprises of Glavmikrobioprom USSR are already in operation, but we still do not have them. The Academy of Sciences together with Gosplan and appropriate ministries was given a special assignment in regard to this question in October 1982 at the 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. But this work has so far been moving too slow.

"In the republic, a system has been worked out of organization and location of horticulture and food viticulture [prodovol'stvennoye vinogradarstvo]. From the very first, adequate production of seedlings was established.

"But these sectors are being developed extremely slowly. The volume of setting up new gardens and vineyards has actually not increased, and plans are not being fulfilled. And the planning itself is in need of serious corrections.

"Of course, solution of the tasks brought up in the decree of the CPSU Central committee and the USSR Council of Ministers would be impossible either in agriculture or in other sectors of the national economy without science. Science is the prime mover of scientific-technical progress. And it should be said that agrarian scientists are doing a great deal in this direction. But the introduction of the achievements of science and advanced practice is as yet not properly organized.

"It is time for heads of institutes of agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, viticulture, vegetable growing and others to really embark on this work. It is necessary to create a real school for familiarizing practical workers with modern industrial technologies and with a practical demonstration of everything that is best in domestic agrarian science and applicable to the conditions of our republic.

"Agricultural scientific institutions need to establish close contacts with academic sciences. Special attention was devoted to this in the recent decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Operation of the Ural Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences." The presidium of the republic Academy of Sciences on its part must actively take hold of this important matter and to feel responsibility for the quality of scientific developments and timeliness of their introduction into agricultural production.

"Questions of organization of management of agricultural science must become the subject of most intent consideration by the appropriate departments of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the republic Council of Ministers and the ministries of agriculture and of fruit and vegetable industry.

"Such are the chief directions of impending work in the light of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy." As you see, the tasks set are major and responsible. In this connection, the role and importance of party supervision of this important work are growing.

"Party committees are called upon to intensify the struggle for a radical improvement in work relating to acceleration of scientific-technical progress, to concentrate the attention of labor collectives on problems of increasing the effectiveness and quality of scientific research, design and planning work and to increase the responsibility of economic chiefs and specialists for increasing the contribution of collectives to the solution of tasks relating to acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the national economy. It is necessary to see to it that communists everywhere and in the vanguard of this struggle.

"Party committees should devote more attention to the work of the party organizations of scientific institutions, taking into account the specific nature of their work. Practice convincingly confirms that there where party organizations and heads of scientific institutions determinedly and concretely engage themselves in questions of scientific-technical progress and work for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual demandingness, creative search and a high level of activity of all workers, the desired results are attained."

"Unfortunately, this cannot be said of many of the party organizations of scientific institutions or of the work of the party committee of the Academy of Sciences.

"The success of any work is determined, as we know, by people. This requires that party organizations constantly concern themselves with proper placement of communist specialists and with improving the selection, preparation and training of scientific cadres, especially of the younger generation. It should be said that many unresolved problems exist in this important work.

"Serious defects are to be found in the operation of graduate studies. Young people often enter here who have no calling for scientific-research work. And it is not accidentally that only slight more than 25 percent of graduate students defend dissertations.

"Under our conditions, great importance is to be attached to active involvement of female youth in public production and solution of the tasks of scientific-technical progress. A certain amount of experience in this regard is already available. But it must be admitted that here we so far do not have a well thought out, scientifically based systems approach.

"It is very important to continually raise the level of ideological educational work among the scientific-technical intelligentsia in production collectives and to develop socialist competition while striving to have it contribute

in every possible way to accelerating scientific-technical progress. Special attention should be given to the creation in collectives of a businesslike, friendly and truly creative atmosphere.

"We must more actively involve in the work on acceleration of scientific-technical progress trade-union and komsomol organizations, organs of people's control and the scientific-technical community. It is important to provide all-out support and to spread the initiative of the workers and the undertakings of innovators and to develop innovation and inventiveness. Here also large reserves exist. It is enough to say that in the last two and a half years, we have achieved a saving in the amount of 68 million rubles from the adoption of inventions and innovative proposals.

"Despite this, here and there the necessary attention is not paid to the development of innovativeness and inventiveness.

"An important role in the nationwide struggle for acceleration of scientific-technical progress belongs to the komsomol and our glorious youth. Komsomols and young people respond in a lively fashion to all party measures and actively support its policy. There can be no doubt that in the solution of problems of technical progress, the Leninist Komsomol of Tajikistan will occupy a worthy place and respond with practical work to the call of the party.

"Measures need to be taken to see to it that that pages of the republic press and radio and television broadcasts carry out propaganda of scientific-technical progress and technical skills among the population, especially the youth.

"We are considering key directions for further development of our economy at the end of the third, crucial year of the five-year plan. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Speeding Up Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy" opens up for us broad horizons and possibilities for improving economic activity.

"Only 2 years remain before the end of the five-year plan. In order to make big gains for it, we need to work with doubled energy, increasing strictness and insistence on high standards for cadres at all levels, beginning with ministries and ending with rank-and-file workers.

"The results of our work from the start of the five-year plan attest to the fact that certain successes have been achieved in the development of the republic's economy. Industry is outstripping its targets and the totals of annual plans. Above-plan output has been produced in the amount of 276 million rubles. The average volume of agricultural gross production grew 7 percent compared to the 10th Five-Year Plan. Three-year targets for procurement of grain, vegetables, potatoes, melons, grapes, cocoons, wool and coarse fodder have been fulfilled ahead of schedule.

"Our glorious cotton growers are marching to a glorious finish of the present, extremely difficult year caused by weather conditions.

"But it must no be forgotten that a number of sectors of economic activity lag behind the targets of the five-year plan. And they must be made up.

"Energetic measures on the part of workers must be used to ensure the fulfillment of plans by each subdivision, first of all assuring deliveries of products that take into account contractual commitments. This is a matter of honor.

"For construction workers, the very first task is the unconditional fulfillment of targets to make housing available. As of today, there is a marked lag here.

"Serious attention should be given to the startup of educational and health-care facilities, especially preschool institutions.

"In the remaining time, it is necessary to concentrate efforts on the most important priority production projects. There still have to be started up 200 enterprises and shops.

"Agricultural workers face difficult and responsible tasks. It is necessary to mobilize all energies and technical resources, in order to everywhere complete in the immediate days ahead harvesting of cotton and to ensure accelerated cleaning of fields and fall plowing for winter sowing of grain crops, late fall sowing of vegetables and planting of potatoes. It is important to ensure the fulfillment of targets for purchases of animal-husbandry products and to eliminate the indebtedness of lagging rayons and farms with respect to the sale of milk, meat and eggs. The means for this exist and they must be utilized. Questions of organized wintering of livestock must without doubt be at the center of attention.

"Workers of other sectors of the economy also face many responsible tasks at the year's end."

In conclusion, R.N. Nabihev said:

"Allow me to assure the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov personally that all of the republic's communists and workers will do everything possible that depends on them to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party and the government for speeding up scientific-technical progress and on this basis to augment their contribution to the development of the Soviet economy and fulfillment of the historical decisions of the 26th congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

BAGIROV MEETS WITH SFRY PRESIDIUM DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 March 1984 carries on page 1 a 300-word account of the meeting in the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee between K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, and V. Zarkovic, deputy chairman of the SFRY Presidium. Also present at the meeting were L. Moysov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, J. Srbovan, member of the Federal Executive Council, and M. Drulovic, Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR.

Bagirov welcomed his guests warmly, emphasizing the successful development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and mentioning the contribution to this cooperation made by the workers of Baku, the sister city of Sarayevo. He also familiarized Zarkovic with the activity of the Azerbaijan party organization in mobilizing the workers to fulfill the resolutions of the February (1984) CPSU Plenum, emphasizing that the plenum demonstrated its "firm resolution to tread consistently the tried and true Leninist path."

Zarkovic responded with satisfaction with their visit and stated that the relationship between the two countries was "good and stable, characterized by friendship, trust, sincerity and a high level of mutually beneficial cooperation in all spheres."

The USSR minister of justice, V. I. Terebilov, and UAAR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs B. I. Aristov participated in the discussion; as did members of the Azerbaijan Central Committee and Buro.

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REGIONAL

USUBALIYEV PRESENTS RED BANNER AWARD TO OSH OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 1 Mar 1984 on page 1 a 2200-word article describing the awarding of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee's Red Banner to Osh Oblast in Kirghizia. T. U. Usualiyev, Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, presented the award and delivered a congratulatory speech. He thanked all the workers of the oblast, noting especially the oblast's achievements in industrial production. Such successes did not come easily, he added, due to the damage done last year by mudflows, hail and earthquakes. He expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers for their earthquake relief efforts in Kirghizia.

Osh Obkom first secretary R. S. Kul'matov accepted the award, made a speech of thanks, and pledged future efforts to achieve similar production successes. Speeches by enterprise directors, brigade leaders, gorkom secretaries and others followed.

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REGIONAL

TURKMEN SOCIOLOGISTS ON LEARNING FROM MOSCOW, GEORGIAN SOCIOLOGY WORK

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by A. Roslyakov, vice president, AN TSSR [Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences] and M. Atadzhanova, chief of the sector of Sociological Analyses of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Science Department of Philosophy and Law, candidate of economic science: "Raising Sociological Studies to the Level of New Tasks"]

[Text] The June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has required that scientists in social sciences step up the scientific search and assure a decisive turn of scientific institutions and all scholars-social scientists to the key practical tasks standing before the country.

In his speech at the Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said: "Even to this day we have still not properly studied the society in which we live and work.... Therefore, at times we are forced to act, so to speak, by the highly irrational method of trial and error." The party and government expect from Soviet scientists development of dependable ways to improve the effectiveness of production, and to investigate the principles for the establishing of a classless structure in society, the internationalization of social life, the development of socialist sovereignty of the people and the problems of communist training.

Only a thorough and multi-lateral analysis of our reality can ensure the resolution of these tasks and the development of scientific bases of party strategy in perfecting developed socialism and the methods and means for achieving our immediate and long-term goals.

An important role in this task belongs to Soviet sociology which researches society first of all as a integral organized system, the interaction of its component parts, the needs, interests and value orientations of various groups of the population, the relationships between society, the collective and the individual. Specific sociological analyses are an important source of new data essential for improvement of social planning and prognostication and for effective management of social processes.

As is known, the contemporary condition of social studies evoked severe criticism at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. A great deal

of blame, directed at the USSR Academy of Science Institute of Sociological Research, was expressed.

What is the condition and outlook for development of sociological sciences in Turkmenistan?

Currently, the principal scientific collective working in the field of sociological science is the sociological sector of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences Department of Philosophy and Law. Its staff members are engaged in the analysis of social problems of labor collectives in conditions of developed socialism, and also questions of the development and strengthening of the contemporary family. Specific sociological analyses are also being conducted by the sectors of scientific atheism and problems of ideological work and by a series of VUZ departments and the sector of party construction at the Turkmen Central Committee's Institute of Party History.

From the first days of the existence of the sociological subdivision of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, Turkmen scientists have worked with Moscow sociologists--the Institute of Sociological Research--which ensures a high scientific and methodological level of working out the studies. With the participation and, in a number of cases even under the leadership of Moscow sociologists, sociological analyses were conducted on such urgent questions as: the contemporary trends in the social development of workers in the Turkmen SSR processing industries, the creative intelligentsia and a series of inquiries into the problems of scientific atheism, the modern Turkmen family and so forth.

At the same time, there are "narrow places" in the development of Turkmen sociology--our own omissions and difficulties which can be explained first of all by the shortage of sociologist-scientists. Therefore one of the main tasks standing before us at this moment is the preparation of highly qualified cadre--sociologists. This work is being carried out now. A group of graduate students and those writing their dissertations is preparing to defend their candidates' dissertations in sociology. Just last year seven individuals successfully passed the minimum requirements for candidates in applied sociology. In Moscow, several additional graduate student sociologists are finishing their studies. This will make it possible to ensure progress in the immediate future in the work and will permit development of study in a series of important scientific directions.

One such direction is the study of public opinion. In some union republics, in Georgia for example, a great and valuable experience has been accumulated in terms of its study, formulation and prediction. Naturally, the central press raises the issue not only concerning the formation of a system of study of public opinion and its dynamics, but also of the development of the mechanism of reverse ties--from the management organs to public opinion, concerning the formulation of a wide circle of new tasks before the ideological organs. From 1984, we also will be starting to work in this direction.

No less important is the formation of a sociological service at enterprises, associations and ministries, one that is organized on a large scale, for example, in Belorussia. First of all, these services could be created on a social basis. Cadre of factory and other sociologists could be gradually trained at special seminars and meetings at various institutes. In the future we foresee the creation of applied sociology departments at VUZes. Highly qualified sociologists, whose training is developed at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, could provide assistance in their creation. An example of such cooperation, for example, are the joint research studies being conducted by the sociological sector of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences and the Sociological Service of the Republic Gossnab [Government Supply Administration].

Since it is an independent field of study, Marxist-Leninist sociology is at the same time at the junction of various branches of scientific knowledge: economics, law, social psychology and pedagogy, demography and statistics, ethnography and scientific atheism, which cannot develop successfully without factual data and methods which are developed by sociological science. For its part, sociology cannot do without theoretical propositions and factual materials, presented by related sciences. Only such a combined approach can ensure a proper presentation of real life and a thorough understanding of all difficult and mutually related processes occurring in society. Therefore, coordination, essential for this service, of the work of sociologists and other scientific collectives is also a subject of our concern.

After all, the task of our sociologists as well as scholars--social scientists is not only to master the skill to collect material, to analyze it and make correct, scientifically-based conclusions but also to develop recommendations essential for the agencies which are called upon to manage the sociological processes.

It was noted at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that as a result of the scientific analyses, high-quality practical recommendations will appear more frequently. Only under this condition will sociologists as well as representatives of other social sciences become active assistants of the party to the fullest degree in solving its main strategic tasks--perfecting the developed socialist society.

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REGIONAL

RUSSIAN, KAZAKH LITERATURE USED TO INculcate PATRIOTISM IN STUDENTS

Alma-Ata RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V KAZAKHSKOY SHKOLO in Russian No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 28 Dec 83) pp 36-38

[Article by G. Lekerova, teacher, Boarding School No 7, Karaganda: "A Valuable Means for Forming Conciition"]

[Text] Russian literature as an academic subject in Kazakh schools presents a wealth of opportunities for fostering communist convictions, Soviet patriotism, collectivism, and love of work among the students. Curricula and textbooks contain many works of great educational value. Through skillful textual analysis and work done in connection with them, they make a deep impression in students' minds and promote the formation of the character of the Soviet man, the builder of communism.

While studying A. A. Fadayev's novel, "Young Guard," in the tenth grade, I invariably ask these upperclassmen questions like: which character traits of the young guards did you find especially appealing? In what way would you like to be like them? And during their final class the 10th graders write compositions that show the extent to which they have correctly understood the essentially heroic character of each young guard. It is greatly satisfying and exciting to read lines like these:

Serezha Tyulenin will always be an example for me. Serezha's courage and fortitude do not desert him even in a fascist prison. In spite of the inhuman tortures that the barbarian Fenbong subjects him to, and in spite of the fact that his elderly mother has been murdered before his very eyes, Serezha does not talk. The full beauty of Serezha's spiritual world and the full force of his love for mankind are completely revealed in the final moments of his life, when the young guards are led out to be shot. Serezha helps one of them escape. And when Kovalev escapes, he is tremendously happy.

For me, Lyubov Shevtsova is a model to be imitated. I find her love of life and her energy attractive. She is tormented by a thirst for glory and the frightening power of self-sacrifice. In her bravery and courage she resembles Serezha Tyulenin.

And though all students still do not write compositions like these cited above, our task is to use the creative work of the best students as an example to stir up lively ideas in all the pupils and to teach them to think, to express their thoughts and feelings simply and sincerely. I mention the educational significance of these compositions because they help me in the ideological and political education of my students and help to instill a sense of patriotism and internationalism in them--these which are the best qualities of the Soviet man.

I devote a lot of attention to the formation of ideological conviction, love of work, and a sense of duty and responsibility in extracurricular reading classes as well. Take Ch. Aytmatov's story "The Young Soldier", which we study in the 8th grade. The students learn about the death of the father of the story's young protagonist, who is very proud of him. They are moved by the scene where the boy looks at the film and is sure that it really is his father shown on the screen. Along with the protagonist, they sense how his father, who died long before in the war, has started to live in him. Naturally, the discussion of the events depicted in the story crosses over to the student's own lives: Whose grandfathers and fathers fought in battle, and what medals do they have. The students draw the conclusion that love for the Fatherland has lifted Soviet citizens of various nationalities to accomplish heroic deeds.

Radio broadcasts, books, newspapers and magazines give us interesting topics for discussion. All the important political events taking place in our country and the world should not pass our students by. In my talks with young people I try to touch upon many things, and have the students select material from the press relating to major events. In one class we read the letter from Samantha Smith to Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and discussed what the situation is in the world today and how the struggle for peace is being conducted. For the peace class in the 5th grade the pupils made drawings: "Peace to you, my earth," "Let there always be a sun," "Peace to the whole planet," "Let's give the earth to our children." The students made good comments about them. A school competition was conducted for compositions about peace. And they showed that the preparatory work had not been in vain. Here are excerpts from two compositions:

We are fortunate that we have not had to live through the horrors of war. We see in movies how brutal it was. There are people in our time who want to disrupt the silence of peace. But the peaceful nation tells them "No."

The young generation of our country sacredly reveres the memory of those who gave their lives defending the homeland and who bequeathed the clean, peaceful sky under which we now live and study. We want to live in peace.

Examples like the ones cited can be found in every lesson. This provides for an education that inculcates in students the spirit of patriotism and civic duty. The students have shown to be more receptive to what goes on in our country and in the rest of the world. They follow with interest every newspaper report on the further march of the peace movement. Thus,

besides promoting our students' skills in Russian, we inculcate in students the feeling of solidarity with the toiling masses of all countries, and form in them an active approach to life.

Any lesson in Russian language and literature, regardless of the topic, should bear an educational character. Only in this way can the students become sensitive and attentive to other people and to what goes on in the world. Only in this way will lofty moral principles and convictions be formed.

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH COURTS PUNISH OFFICIALS FOR THEFT BY WORKERS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by G. Yelemisov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Court: "The Court Report"]

[Text] As is well known, prevention of law infringement is an important part of the great work conducted by our State in the education of its citizens in the spirit of communist ideas. Therefore, prevention of all kinds of anti-social manifestations is everyone's duty.

A large role in this matter is assigned to law enforcement agencies, including the courts. Their examination of cases has in itself a deterrent effect. In addition, they are involved in another phase of crime prevention: for example, they issue court reports (chastnoye opredeleniye) explaining the circumstances that make infringements of the law possible and identifying the officials responsible. The court reports are sent to the managers of enterprises, institutions, or departments, who, in accordance with Article 403 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Kazakh SSR, are obliged to report the steps taken to eliminate the deficiencies.

It must be pointed out that in the majority of the court reports appropriate measures are taken. For example in the investigation by the Alma-Ata City Court of the criminal case of the accused Yu. Gusev, who stole meat products from the meat combine, a number of circumstances were identified which aided in the perpetration of the thefts. For example, the chief deputy director of the association, B. Chevardin, and other officials showed a great tolerance for cases of theft. In the association ex-convicts were employed in materially responsible posts; one of them had been tried five times.

The court sent a court report to the republic Ministry of Meat and Milk Industry, which regarded it with grave seriousness. It was discussed at the board and resulted in the dismissal of the Deputy General Directors B. Chevardin and S. Abnizov for bad management and unsatisfactory work in providing protection of socialist property.

While investigating a certain case, the Dzhambul Oblast Court determined that the potato storehouses of the Karatau Department of Labor Supply as constructed deviated greatly from the plan. In addition, more products were stored there

than their capacity allowed, thus resulting in considerable losses. The court report issued by the court served as the basis for the building of a new storehouse for 2,000 tons and a refrigeration facility for 1,700 tons of fruits and vegetables.

In this manner the court was able to uncover an important problem behind the facts and to strive to see that the problem is solved during the next few years. However, the directors of enterprises, organizations, and institutions do not react properly to court reports in all cases.

In the Road Operation Section of the City Road Construction Administration of the Chimkent City Municipal Service Department a large sum of state funds was stolen by means of forged documents. This was facilitated by the administrations' lack of appropriate supervision of the accounting practices in the Road Operation Section. Its Director M. Aripbayev and Chief Engineer N. Nurseitov used to sign so-called "open payroll sheets" (not completely filled out) for the payment of wages. This list contained names of personnel who had been dismissed.

The Chimkent Oblast Court sent the area director of municipal services. S. Pazylbekov, a court report. However, he did not burden himself with the causes of the large-scale theft of state property and forwarded it to the Chimkent City Municipal Services Department; its Manager V. Zabelin confined himself to a formal reply.

There are many other incidents where the courts in a court report point out gross infringement of the law or failure to carry out their duty by some individuals, and the measures taken against them are extremely inadequate and weak. One example is the position taken by the chief of the Tselinograd Oblast Agriculture Administration, V. F. Yerokhiny, regarding the Alekseyev People's Court report.

This is the heart of the matter. P. Ye. Sorokin, working as the director of the "Minskiy" Sovkhoz, conducted himself with criminal negligence in the execution of his duties; he did not check that the accounts were correctly compiled. In his turn, the chief of the Seletinskiy Rayon Agriculture Administration, Kh. S. Kharadzhiyev and his deputy, Ye. K. Dyusenov, incited the workers of the Sovkhoz to distort the accounts, particularly in the case of the cattle plague. Still, the chief of the oblast agriculture administration gave Kharadzhiyev only a reprimand, and did not punish Dyuseinov at all. Both of them, having allowed illegal activity, should have been severely punished.

One who was also negligent in his responsibility was the chairman of the board of Makanchinsky Rayon Consumers' Union of Semipalatinsk Oblast, B. Kzylzhanov, who instructed the director of the worker cooperative of Bakhta village, T. Yusupov, to include the money earned at the beginning of the month into the previous month's plan for the turnover of goods, if the plan was not fulfilled. The people's court sentenced Yusipov and delivered a court report in connection with Kasylzhanov's illegal activities and sent it to the board of the Semipalatinsk Oblast Consumer Union Society. What did the board do? It investigated and determined that, "Kasylzhanov... should be sternly warned." Having committed gross abuses at his work, and having violated the law, Kasylzhanov escaped, as they say, with barely a scare.

Here one should point out that both the public courts of Alekseyevskiy and Makanchinskiy Rayons, and the investigation agencies, made incorrect, unprincipled decisions. They should have decided the question about the criminal proceeding based on the fact that the managers of Seletinskiy Rayselkhoz Administration and Makanchinskiy Raypotrebsoyuz instigated their subordinates to commit illegal padding and to misuse the position of their office.

According to the law, having received a court report, officials must take proper measures to remove the conditions stated therein, which facilitated the violation of the law and notify the court about them within a period of 1 month. Nevertheless, the 1 month time period is not complied with. This can be viewed as a lack of esteem for the court and a gross violation of the law. Thus, the directors of the Derzhavinsk elevator did not react to the court report of the people's court for 5 months, pointing to low labor moral and inadequate education. Again, the director of Karaganda Oblselkhoz Administration did not reply at all to the Karkaralinsk People's Court report, which spoke of serious shortcomings in the selection and training of personnel as accounts clerks, a cause for thefts of large sums of money.

Along with this, the republic courts do not always explain in their investigation in detail the circumstances that made the violation of the law possible. Sometimes, having all the facts, they still do not issue court reports.

To a large extent, they are also to blame for the fact that in places, from time to time, proper respect is not shown for court documents. It is imperative to report such incidents to the party organizations, to Ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and the court orders undoubtedly will be carried out.

It is essential to always remember that a court report is an order to act. This is the only way to look at the matter by business managers and other officials who happen to deal with court documents. Close cooperation between the law enforcement agencies and the broad public is the pledge for success in the battle against violations of the law.

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REGIONAL

BRIEFS

KAUNAS POPULATION 400,000--A son has been born into the family of Alina Kajauskene, a pharmacist, and Alfredas Kajauskas, a thermal machine operator from the Machine Tool Building Association imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy. The infant is the 400,000th resident of the city. Kaunas, one of the oldest cities in the republic, is mentioned in annals dating back to the 12th century. By the late 19th century, according to census figures, its population had reached 73,000. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the city on the banks of the Niamunas and Neris had 154,000 inhabitants. In the postwar years the development of industry and other branches of the economy was accompanied by a rapid growth of the city's population: the 200,000th resident was recorded in 1958, the 300,000th in 1969. [Text] [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Jan 84 p 3] 12258

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